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## SCALIGER VERSUS ARISTOTLE ON POETICS

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### I

THE *Poetices libri septem* of Julius Caesar Scaliger appeared in 1561, three years after his death in 1558.<sup>1</sup> The manuscript, dedicated to his son Sylvius, was left complete among his unpublished papers, and its preparation had apparently occupied the later years of Scaliger's life. Thus the work was composed at a time when, for theorists of the Italian school to which Scaliger belonged, the authority of Aristotle's *Poetics* was gaining increasingly wide acceptance. Minturno, for example, in his *De poeta* of 1559, shows himself in complete subservience to the letter and the meaning (as he saw it) of the Aristotelian text. In general, Scaliger too followed the lead of his Italian predecessors and subscribed to the teachings of Aristotle; numerous passages of the *Poetice* contain citations, discussions, and adoptions of the *Poetics*.<sup>2</sup> The distinction of object, manner, and

<sup>1</sup> First edition: [Lyon], Antonius Vincentius, 1561. The editions numbered 2d-5th appeared in 1581, 1586, 1607, 1617. I have also seen reference to an edition of 1594, which would thus come between the 3d and the 4th. My quotations are from the 1st edition; a collation of the 5th edition with it shows only minor differences of spelling. In the 1st edition there is an error in numbering of the chapters of Book III; the number "x" is omitted, and hence all chapters beginning with "xi" are too high by one. This error was rectified by the 5th edition. In references to these chapters I give first the wrong and then the corrected number. In the translations I have tried to interpret words in the light of the special meanings which they take on through the course of the work.

<sup>2</sup> On the work in general and its position in French criticism see Eugène Lintilhac, "Un Coup d'état dans la république des lettres: Jules-César Scaliger, fondateur du 'Classicisme' cent ans avant Boileau," *Nouvelle revue*, LXIV (May 15, June 1, 1890), 333-46, 528-47. Lintilhac indicates the indebtedness to Aristotle on p. 338. His views are more fully expressed in his thesis, *De J.-C. Scaligeri Poetice* (Paris: Hachette, 1887). Funaioli

means in Book I (p. 6) and the division into peripeteia, desis, lysis, and metabasis in Book III (p. 146) may serve as examples. But the whole tone of the work is less clearly "Aristotelian" than is that of many documents. What is more, there are, on certain fundamental points of theory, violent and overt disagreements with the doctrine of the *Poetics*. Of these, four especially are worthy of careful examination.

1. *The definition of tragedy*.—In Book I, chapter vi, Scaliger quotes Aristotle's definition (in Greek, without translation) and then adds this comment:

I do not wish to attack this definition otherwise than by adding my own: An imitation through actions of some distinguished life, unhappy in outcome, in serious metrical discourse. For although some add harmony and song, these are not (as the philosophers say) of the essence of tragedy. If they were, tragedy would exist only on the stage, and it would not exist off the stage.<sup>3</sup> Moreover his statement "having a certain magnitude" is introduced to differentiate tragedy from epic, which sometimes is prolix—not always however, as you may see in the works of Musaeus. Besides, the word "katharsis" by no means is useful for every subject matter whatsoever. "A certain magnitude," again, means "of moderate length" here. One cannot indeed satisfy with a few verses the expectation of the public, which assembles so that it may exchange the boredom of many days for several hours of entertainment. In the same way prolixity is also improper: so much so that one might jokingly quote that well-known remark of Plautus, "My back aches with sitting, and my eyes with looking."<sup>4</sup>

remarks in the *Enciclopedia italiana*, XXX, 1000: "Libro di tutt'altra portata storica fu la *Poetica* (1561), un'interpretazione ortodosso-classicistica di Aristotele: ampia e originale sistematizzazione d'idee correnti in Italia sulla *Poetica* aristotelica e oraziana, che foggia il gusto del classicismo francese."

<sup>3</sup> This sentence is intelligible only when related to the statement in the *Poetics* (1453b3) that "the Plot in fact should be so framed that, even without seeing the things take place, he who simply hears the account of them shall be filled with horror and pity at the incidents" (trans. Bywater).

<sup>4</sup> "Quam nolo hic impugnare aliter, quam nostram subnectendo. Imitatio per actiones illustris fortunae, exitu infelici, oratione graui metrica. Nam quod harmoniam & melos addunt, non sunt ea, ut philosophi loquuntur, de essentia Tragoediae. Etenim Tragoedia in scena tantum esset, eadem extra scenam non esset. Quod autem dixit, μέγεθος ἐχούσης: positum est, ad differentiam Epopoeiae, quae aliquando prolixa est. Non tamen semper, cuiusmodi vides apud Musaeum. Praeterea καθάρσις vox neutiquam cuius materiae seruit, sicut μέγεθος, mediocritatem significat hic. Paucis enim versibus nequit satisfieri populi expectationi: qui eo conuenit, ut multorum dierum fastidia, cum aliquod horarum hilaritate commutet. Quemadmodum inepta quoque est prolixitas: adeo ut facite dicas illud Plautinum,

*Lumbi sedendo, oculi spectando dolent*" (p. 12).

This comment substitutes for Aristotle's definition one of Scaliger's own, differently constituted, and then challenges the inclusion of several clauses in the former: the addition of harmony and melody and the use of the word "katharsis."

2. *The qualitative parts of tragedy*.—After stating that the primary parts of comedy—protasis, epitasis, catastasis, and catastrophe—are also those of tragedy, Scaliger goes on to refute Aristotle's division (I, xi, 18):

Aristotle distinguished the parts otherwise, and indeed he sets up six: Plot, character, diction, aphorism,<sup>5</sup> setting, melody. In the first place, this is not a division of like things. For plot is a whole in itself; character a quality of plot; diction an ornament, either an imitation or a likeness of a thing; aphorism a part of diction. Melody is completely external, and setting even more so: for the others all are directed to the ears, setting to the eyes.<sup>6</sup>

His quarrel with Aristotle's division is that the parts there distinguished are not all on the same level of importance—that some are unnecessary or extraneous.

3. *The end of poetry*.—In the Appendix, Book VII, Scaliger devotes a chapter entitled "Rerum divisio" to a supplementary discussion of the nature of imitation and of its relationship to poetry. After pointing out that poetry represents "actions" and "circumstances," he again attacks Aristotle:

Since all these things are represented in the works of the poet, Aristotle asserted that his whole end was imitation, which he attributed to man alone as peculiar to him of all living beings. So in truth this idea once expressed and frequently repeated he kept alive perpetually, and misled us into two absurdities.<sup>7</sup>

Having discussed these absurdities, he goes on: "The end of poetry is not imitation, but rather delightful instruction by which the habits of men's minds are brought to right reason, so that through them man

<sup>5</sup> "Sententia" has throughout the text this narrow meaning rather than the broader Aristotelian sense of "thought."

<sup>6</sup> "Aristoteles aliter partes digerit. sex enim statuit. Fabulam, mores, dictionem, sententiam, apparatusum, melodiam. Principio non est aequa divisio. Namque Fabula totum ipsum est. Mores qualitas fabulae. Dictionis ornatus, aut imitatio rei, aut species. Sententia pars dictionis. Melodia extra rem penitus. Tantò longius etiam apparatus. Sanè caetera ad aures: apparatus ad oculos."

<sup>7</sup> "Haec igitur omnia quum poetae opera effingantur: eius finem totum fecit Aristoteles imitationem, quam omnium animantium soli homini attribuit tanquam peculiarem. Eiusmodi verò sententiam quum semel positam, saepe repetitam perpetuò foueret: in duas nos abduxit absurditates."

may achieve perfect action, which is called Beatitude."<sup>8</sup> The argument is concluded thus:

[Poetry is distinguished] not by imitation, for every poem is not an imitation and every man who imitates is not a poet; not by the use of fiction or lying, for poetry does not lie, or rather that poetry which lies, lies constantly and would be therefore that kind of poetry, and not poetry in general.<sup>9</sup> Finally there is imitation in all speech, since words are the images of things. The end of the poet is to teach with pleasure.<sup>10</sup>

Thus imitation ceases to be an end in itself and becomes an intermediate end to "teaching with pleasure."

4. *The relative importance of plot and character.*—Aristotle's statement (1450a15) to the effect that plot is more important than character in the play is challenged in a chapter entitled "Utrum poeta doceat mores, an actiones" (VII, iii). Scaliger maintains that it is impossible to have plot without character and, furthermore, that plot in the play exists for the purpose of improving character in the audience:

The poet teaches character through action, so that we may esteem the good and imitate them in our own actions, that we may spurn the bad through abstaining from similar actions. Action is therefore a way of teaching; character, that which we are taught for purposes of acting. Wherefore action will be a kind of example or means in the plot, and character indeed will be the end.<sup>11</sup>

These are all fundamental points in the Aristotelian system, since they involve (1) the definition of tragedy, (2) its constituent parts, (3) the end of poetry, and (4) the internal economy of the poem. The reasons for Scaliger's objections may sometimes be seen in the passages themselves, but behind these usually lie more primary as-

<sup>8</sup> "... non est poetices finis, imitatio: sed doctrina iucunda, qua mores animorum deducantur ad rectam rationem: vt ex his consequatur homo perfectam actionem, quae nominatur Beatitudo."

<sup>9</sup> Or "a 'composition' and not a real poem" if a play on the meanings of *poesis* is intended.

<sup>10</sup> "Non ab imitatione: non enim omne poema imitatio: non, qui imitatur, omnis est poeta. Non à fictione ac mendacio: non enim mentitur poesis, aut quae mentitur, mentitur semper. esset ergo poesis eadem, & non poesis. Denique imitationem esse in omni sermone, quia verba sint imagines rerum: Poetae finem esse, docere cum iucunditate" (chap. ii, pp. 346-47).

<sup>11</sup> "Docet affectus poeta per actiones: vt bonos amplectamur, atque imitemur ad agendum: malos aspernemur ob abstinendum. Est igitur actio docendi modus: affectus, quem docemur ad agendum. quare erit actio quasi exemplar, aut instrumentum in fabula: affectus verò finis" (p. 348).



assumptions or distinctions, which must be understood if we are to follow his line of reasoning in any particular chapter. His disagreement with Aristotle, we shall see, is a result not of personal animus or the conviction of his own infallibility—both of which are present to a degree in the work—but of the whole character and import of his critical system. Hence if we are to throw light upon these particular problems, we must first achieve an adequate statement of his critical point of view, of the basic distinctions and the method involved.

## II

Scaliger is a devotee of highly systematized and carefully organized exposition, and this exposition must itself be a reflection of similar qualities in his thought. Indeed, his main claim for the superiority of his *Poetice* over antecedent poetics—those of Aristotle, Horace, Vida—rests upon its clear and logical order (cf. the prefatory "Epistola"). Hence in the introductory chapter of each book he takes great care to indicate the place of that book in the general scheme, the fundamental distinctions, and the method and the order to be observed. In the same way, he frequently pauses within a chapter to make further divisions and distinctions of his materials, even at the risk (as frequently happens) of introducing distinctions which are productive of no further conclusions or deductions in the work and are hence in a way gratuitous.

The work is divided into seven books, entitled, respectively, "Historicus," "Hyle," "Idea," "Parasceue," "Criticus," "Hypercriticus," and "Epinomis." Of these, Books V and VI present applications of the theory to poets of all ages and are illustrative of the critical system rather than integral to it. Book VII (except for Part II) belongs to the general system of the first four books, which contain the main body of doctrine. Book I ("Historicus") discusses the origin, kinds, and modes of poetry, with particular attention to etymology of names, history of genres, and description of the various forms. Book II ("Hyle") analyzes the "material" of poetry, words, as these enter into feet, meters, and rhythms. In Book III ("Idea") the "form" of poetry—in this system the things represented—is treated in its three major aspects: the objects that the poet represents, the proper choice and arrangement of the words used to represent them, and the

proper ordering of poems in each of the genres. Finally, Book IV ("Parasceue") is concerned with the ornamentation of the poem through the choice and exploitation of the proper "style" and through the use of the appropriate figures.

It is clear from this organization that two of the major terms in the work will be "words" and "things"; in fact, Scaliger indicates specifically that these constitute the material and formal causes of poetry. To complete the traditional division he adds an efficient cause, the poet, and a final cause, the intermediate end of imitation plus the ultimate end of teaching (pp. 1-2). The poet as such does not enter into the dialectic in any important way; but the ends are everywhere taken into consideration. Hence the system revolves about three concepts: words, things, and teaching effected through imitation.

If this is so, it is because poetry is conceived of primarily as language. As language, it must enter into two distinct relationships: (1) the relationship with the things which are signified by the words employed and (2) the relationship with the audience for whom the signification is intended; thus:

Things ← Words → Men

These relationships will be present in all the linguistic arts and sciences—logic, rhetoric, and history as well as poetry—and hence poetry will be like all of these in certain respects. In all of them words are related to things through the process of imitation; that is, the word represents or imitates the thing just as the thing (in true Platonic fashion) represents or imitates the Ideal or Idea of the thing in nature.

For Plato establishes the order of things thus: [first] the unchanging separately-existing Idea; [second] the changing and visible thing derived from it, which exists as an image of the Idea itself; in the third place a picture or a speech, related indeed in the same way [to objects as objects are to Ideas], and they are images of appearances. Wherefore just as the Idea will be the form of any terrestrial object, so the object should be considered as the form of a picture, and a statue, and a speech. I believe that one can in no wise disagree with this opinion.<sup>12</sup>

<sup>12</sup> "Plato enim rerum ordinem ita digessit. Ideam incorruptibilem separatam. Rem ab ea depromptam corruptibilem, quae ipsius Ideae imago existat. tertio loco picturam aut orationem: eodem enim modo referuntur: & sunt imagines specierum. Quare sicuti Idea erit forma rei nostratis, ita res debuerit haberi pro forma picturae, & statucae, & orationis. à qua sententia neutiquam discedendum censeo" (II, 1, 55).

The word is thus constantly called the "image" or "imitation" of the thing: "imagines rerum" (p. 347), "aut imitatio rei, aut species" (p. 18), "rei effigies atque imago" (p. 175). In all of these arts, secondly, the end is some kind of persuasion: "vnus enim idémque omnium finis, persuasio" (p. 2). Other ends proposed are either false or intermediate, as, for example, the *bene dicendi* of oratory and the *delectatio* of poetry (pp. 2-3). Poetry will differ from the others in two respects: in the use of verse and in the imitation of fictional rather than true objects (pp. 3 and 5).

Each of these concepts is developed in detail by Scaliger in his systematic way, and the ultimate conclusions are drawn. Let us follow each of them through its career in the work, beginning with words. We have already seen that the words are the "material" of poetry and that they thus are used to express the "form," or things. The *Res-Verba* relationship is described in Book III, chapter i:

Therefore, since our whole subject is divided into things and words, the words themselves are both parts and the material of speech [or diction], which we have just explained; but the ordering and arrangement of words are as it were a kind of form, of which we shall speak hereafter. But things themselves are the end of diction, words being notations of things. Wherefore they receive from things themselves that form by which they are precisely what they are.<sup>13</sup>

This is the fundamental dichotomy of the work and accounts for its organization: Book III (the longest of the theoretical books) is devoted to *Res*, Books II and IV to *Verba*, dealing with rhythms and figures, respectively. But the fact that the two books discussing *Verba* are separated is in itself significant; for it is impossible for Scaliger to discuss figures and "style" until he has disposed of *Res*. The reason is clear. So long as he is concerned only with words as sounds—having rhythmical qualities—he can work independently of things. But as soon as the meaning of words enters, the things meant or signified must come into play. *Verba* in so far as they are significant are dependent upon *Res*, and nothing can be said about them in isolation from *Res*. In the Scaligerian system, therefore, things are the more

<sup>13</sup> "Igitur vnuersum negotium nostrum in Res & Verba quum diuidatur, verba ipsa & partes sunt & materia orationis, quae iam à nobis explicata est: verborum autem dispositio atque apparatus, quasi forma quaedam, de qua postea dicemus. Res autem ipsae finis sunt orationis, quarum verba notae sunt. Quamobrem ab ipsis rebus formam illam accipiunt, qua hoc ipsum sunt, quod sunt" (p. 80).

important of the two elements. Words are reflections of them. Styles are appropriate to them. The Grand Style, for example, is defined thus: "The Grand Style is therefore a style of poetry which contains important persons and excellent actions, from which spring choice aphorisms which are in like manner expressed with choice words and a rhythmical placing of words."<sup>14</sup> Genres are distinguished by the kinds of things they represent and are arranged into a hierarchy of excellence according to the excellence of their subjects.

It is when we come to study *Res* that we find the most complete set of distinctions, and they are distinctions important for the whole art of poetry. We discover, first, that the term *Res* includes three kinds of "things": persons, actions, and nonpersons (or material objects and ideas). The division into persons and nonpersons is made in Book III, chapter i: "*Res omnis aut est persona, aut extra personam*" (p. 80). The category "extra personam" includes material objects (a horse, a book), immaterial objects (a speech, a sacrifice), places, times, and actions which are the result of fate (called "Eventus"). Other actions, springing from men, are "natural"; hence action is related to persons and nonpersons (cf. III, i, 81-82, and xi [=x], 90). All of these—persons, actions, "things"—may be arranged in a hierarchy from best to worst. The hierarchy is established only for persons, but from the method of association of actions and things to persons it is clear that the arrangement as established may be extended to these other elements. Among persons, God or the gods would be at the top, then very brave men, then heroes, then ordinary men—divided into groups from kings down to the humblest.

This scheme serves as the basis for the determination of the order of "nobility" of the genres.

And the most noble of course are hymns and paeans. In the second place are songs and odes and scolia, which are concerned with the praises of brave men. In the third place the epic, in which there are heroes and other lesser personages. Tragedy together with comedy follows this order; nevertheless comedy by itself will hold the fourth place. After these, satires, then exodia, lusus, nuptial songs, elegies, monodia, songs, epigrams.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>14</sup> "Est igitur Altiloquum Poeseos genus, quod personas graues, Res excellentes continet. E quibus lectae sententiae oriuntur: quae lectis item verbis, verborumque numerosa collocatione explicantur" (IV, ii, 183).

<sup>15</sup> "Ac nobilissimi quidem Hymni, & Paeanes. Secundo loco Mele, & Odae, & Scolia, quae in virorum fortium laudibus versabantur. Tertio loco Epica: in quibus & Heroes

The list is, of course, not complete, and the reason for the sequence of the minor genres is not quite clear; but for the major types it is evident that subject matter is the important factor.<sup>16</sup>

Indeed, subject matter is one of the distinguishing characteristics of any genre. Definitions will in most cases begin with an indication of the kind of *res*. Let us take tragedy and comedy as examples. We have already seen (p. 338 above) the definition of tragedy: "*Imitatio per actiones illustris fortunae, exitu infelici, oratione graui metrica.*" The case is slightly different for comedy, which is defined as a "*poema dramaticum, negotiosum, exitu laetum, stylo populari*" (I, v, 11). But immediately afterward Scaliger shows that he has in mind this distinction of subject matter as the basic difference between the two genres:

Tragedy, modelled as is comedy on examples of human life, differs from comedy in three respects: the station in life of the personages, the quality of the circumstances and the actions, the outcome; consequently it is necessary that the style should likewise differ. In comedy the Chremetes [avaricious old men], the Davi [slaves], and the Thaides [Athenian women], humble in station, are brought in from the country; the beginnings are somewhat troubled, the endings happy. The diction is taken from the common people. In tragedy there are kings and princes, from the cities, the castles, the camps. The beginnings are more tranquil, the denouements horrible. The diction is grave, cultured, opposed to the speech of the people, the whole aspect troubled—fears, threatening evils, exiles, deaths.<sup>17</sup>

The "station in life of the personages" introduces the consideration of persons. Those of tragedy will be not only kings and princes but also generals, soldiers, messengers (pp. 24–25); those of comedy, sol-

sunt, & alii minutiores. Quem ordinem consequetur etiam Tragoedia simul cum Comoedia. Comoedia tamen seorsum quartam sedem obtinebit. Inde Satyrae, post Exodia, Lusus, Hymenaei, Elegia, Monodia, Cantiones, Epigrammata" (I, iii, 6).

It is difficult to know exactly what forms were meant by some of these names. *Scolia* were apparently songs of praise, like paeans but sung in groups (I, xlv); *monodia* were memorial songs sung by one person (III, cxli [=cxli]); *cantiones* seem to be occupational songs sung as accompaniments to various kinds of labor or occupation (I, lv).

<sup>16</sup> Different criteria give different hierarchies; e.g., the epic is judged to be the best of all genres, "quod iccirco omnium est princeps: quia continet materias vniuersas" (I, iii, 6).

<sup>17</sup> "Tragoedia, sicut & Comoedia in exemplis humanae vitae conformata, tribus ab illa differt, Personarum conditione, fortunarum negotiorumque qualitate, exitu, quare stylo quoque differat necesse est. In illa à pagis sumpti Chremetes, Davi, Thaides loco humil: Initia turbatuscula: fines laeti. Sermo de medio sumptus. In Tragoedia Reges, Principes, ex vrbibus, arcibus, castris. Principia sedatiora: exitus horribiles. Oratio grauis, culta, à vulgi dictione auersa, tota facies anxia, metus, minae, exilia, mortes" (p. 11).

diers, servants, farmers, panders, money-changers, prostitutes, merchants, seamen, etc. (pp. 20-22). The "quality of the circumstances and the actions" ascribes to these persons certain actions. In tragedy . . . actions are great and frightful: the commands of kings, bloodshed, hopeless situations, hangings, exiles, bereavements, parricides, incests, burnings, battles, plucking out of eyes, lamentations, weepings and wailings, complaints, funeral rites, funeral orations, songs for the dead.<sup>18</sup>

In comedy the actions are "games, banquets, weddings, carousings, crafty tricks of servants, drunkenness, old men deceived, cheatings out of money."<sup>19</sup> The third difference, that of "exitus," also is a part of action; in general, tragedy tends to begin calmly and end horribly, while comedy has a disturbed beginning and a happy ending. Thus the three differences all belong to *res*, and, it will be noted, style follows as a necessary consequence.

Of the various components of *res*, *persona* is the most important and the most exhaustively analyzed. In the first place, persons may be considered as part of the "apparatus" of dramatic poetry, along with the stage itself, and when so considered their external aspects especially are taken into account. This gives rise to an initial set of distinctions, thus:

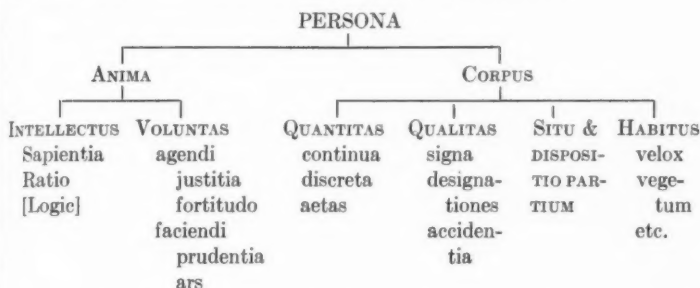
| NOMEN         | CORPUS      | MORES DICTA FACTA | HABITUS     |
|---------------|-------------|-------------------|-------------|
| à conditione  | corpulentia | à nationibus      | differentia |
| à professione | moles       | à professionibus  | in materia  |
| ab officio    | facies      |                   | a forma     |
| ab aetate     | figura      |                   | instrumenta |
| a sexu        | color       |                   | ab eventu   |

Each of these distinctions is explained, discussed, and exemplified (pp. 80 ff.), and later in the work all are applied to the treatment of the persons appropriate to the various genres. In the second place, persons may be considered as human beings engaged in the actions of the poem. Here the distinctions applied to any living person would

<sup>18</sup> "Res Tragicae grandes, atroces, iussa Regum, caedes, desperationes suspendia, exilia, orbitates, parricidia, incestus, incendia, pugnae, occaecationes, fletus, viulatus, conquestiones, funera, epitaphia, epicedia."

<sup>19</sup> "... lusus, comessationes, nuptiae, repotia, seruorum astus, ebrietates, senes decepti, emuncti argento" (p. 144).

be appropriate: substance and accidents, body and soul. With respect to the last of these the division is again very elaborate:



Some of the subdivisions are further analyzed: *ars*, for example, is divided into arts of doing and of making; the latter imply a user as well as a maker; the user will be public or private; the private user will be distinguished by the kind of life he leads—urban, rustic, or military. Or, again, art is divided into material and immaterial arts, singly and combined. In the same connection, two kinds of actions are discriminated: one, from Nature, resides within persons and springs from *ἦθος* or *βουλή*, or, coming from without, it causes *πάθος* in these persons; the other, from Fate, consists of *fortuna* and *casus* (cf. III, i, 80–83).

What is noteworthy in this discussion is not the extent or the nature of the analysis but the method employed by Scaliger. If one re-examines the discussion carefully, one discovers somewhere or other all of the elements of the traditional theory of decorum, such as one might find it in the combined poetical and rhetorical theorists of classical antiquity and of the Middle Ages. The elements are well known: age, sex, country, temperament, rank or profession, etc. But whereas in the earlier works these elements are dogmatically established as necessary components of any characterization, in Scaliger they are made to fit into a system. If we must describe a person's age, it is because all things are persons or nonpersons; persons have souls and bodies, which in turn have qualities, one of which is age. Here, as elsewhere, Scaliger takes disparate and chance elements and integrates them into his systematic philosophy.



There is another and perhaps a more important difference between Scaliger's analysis of *persona* and the traditional doctrine of decorum. The function of decorum in classical writings was to make the type represented in the poem (or speech) as nearly like a conventional type as possible; these conventional types were in turn considered to be norms of nature. Decorum, in a word, was a means for making people in literary works *like* nature. But in Scaliger, the *likeness* of persons to nature has disappeared. For there is no difference in his system, as now becomes apparent, between the *res* of nature and the *res* (and hence the *personae*) of poetry. People in plays will be and act exactly as they would in nature; we should not be conscious of any difference, of the intervention of any artificial medium, of the need for artistic deformation. All of his distinctions are equally applicable to people in the world of reality and to characters in the world of art. Characters *are* people, poems *are* nature.

Here again we touch upon one of the characteristic features of his system, upon one of its original assumptions. We have already seen that the fundamental dichotomy of the work is *Res-Verba* and that, of these elements, it is *Res* that is more important; words are merely a reflection of things. We now know further than the *Res* of poetry is indistinguishable from the *Res* of reality. As a result, Scaliger's treatment of "Idea" is a kind of composite of all human sciences: it combines a psychology, an ethics, a politics, a metaphysics. We discover in it what man is, and then we know what man in poetry should be. In his own words, concluding the discussion of "Idea": "These things, which are thus constituted by nature, must be discovered in the bosom of nature, and plucked out therefrom must be exposed beneath the eyes of men."<sup>20</sup>

But to conclude the quotation from Scaliger at this point would be a deformation, for he goes on to say this: "If we would do this as perfectly as possible, we must ask examples from him who alone is worthy of the name of poet. I mean Vergil, from whose divine poem we shall establish the various kinds of persons."<sup>21</sup> And this reveals

<sup>20</sup> "Haec quae natura ita constant, in Naturae sinu inuestiganda, atque inde eruta sub oculis hominum subicienda erunt."

<sup>21</sup> "... id quod vt quàm commodissime faciamus, petenda sunt exempla ab eo, qui solus Poetae nomine dignus est. Virgilium intelligo: è cuius diuino Poemate statuemus varia genera personarum" (III, II, 83).

that Scaliger's is, after all, a "literary" system, but in a very curious way. It is literary in the sense that the "nature" to be imitated by the poet is found in a poem, the *Aeneid*. The assumption is that Vergil, alone among men, has created (and has thus become like God) a world more perfect than that of nature. In Scaliger's own words (Book III, chap. xxv [=xxiv]):

So far we have shown by the use of Vergilian examples how the forms of things may be drawn from nature itself. For I think that in his poetry the same thing has come about as in paintings. Now sculptors and those who use color take their ideas from things themselves, of which they imitate the lines, light, shade, and relief. Whatever they find of most excellent in every thing they carry over from many things into one of their works; thus they seem not to have learned from nature, but to have vied with her, or rather to have been able to give laws to her. Who indeed believes that there was ever in any woman any such beauty that it did not leave something to be desired by an expert judge? For even though there is a universal perfection in the very patterns and dimensions of nature, to them many blemishes are brought by the mixture of either parent, by time, by weather, by place. Thus we could not take from any one work of nature herself the examples which we have borrowed from one work of Vergil.<sup>22</sup>

Thus the norm of nature, represented only imperfectly by objects in the real world, is represented perfectly by Vergil's epic. Vergil is nature. The whole position of Vergil in the work is indeed interesting, and one wonders whether the line of reasoning of Scaliger may not have been something like this: (1) The *Aeneid* is the perfect poem; (2) from it we may derive, first, the component parts and discover its internal machinery; (3) from these in turn we may arrive at generalizations about the whole art of poetry; (4) and we may illustrate and prove these generalizations by examples from the *Aeneid*. In any case, Scaliger does illustrate all his arguments and distinctions by citation from Vergil, whom he holds up as the unique model for imitation.

<sup>22</sup> "Hactenus rerum ideae quemadmodum ex ipsa natura exciperentur Virgilianis ostendimus exemplis. Ita enim eius poesi euenisse censeo, sicut & picturis. Nam plastae, & ii qui coloribus vtuntur, ex ipsis rebus capessunt notiones, quibus lineamenta, lucem, umbram, recessus imitantur. Quod in quibusque praestantissimum inueniunt, & multis in vnum opus suum transferunt: ita vt non à natura didicisse, sed cum ea certasse, aut potius illi dare leges potuisse videantur. Quis enim putet villam vnquam talem fuisse foeminae cuiuspiam pulchritudinem, in qua aliquid non desideraretur ab iudice non vulgari? Nam tametsi in ipsis naturae normis atque dimensionibus vniuersa perfectio est: tamen vtriusque parentis mistio, tempus, caelum, locus multa afferunt impedimenta. Itaque non ex ipsis naturae opere vno potuimus exempla capere, quae ex vna Virgiliana idea mutuati sumus" (p. 113).

Finally, considerations of *res* impose certain conditions upon the work and supply certain criteria. In the first place, the persons of poetry must be "necessary" and "probable." Both of these are natural rather than aesthetic laws in Scaliger, and both relate especially to character. The author does not define or distinguish them carefully, contenting himself with such phrases as this: "A verisimili, nemo quae deducenda sunt, ignorat. Natura in his ante oculos habenda est" (III, ii, 83). In the second place, the four "virtues" of the poet are manifested in the poem by peculiar qualities of *res*. (The character of the poet, in fact, is identical with these manifestations of it in the work; there is no study of it per se.) Scaliger indicates four prime qualities of the poet: *prudentia*, *efficacia*, *varietas*, and *suavitas*. "Prudence" is dual in character: it is a knowledge of the things represented plus a knowledge of their proper place, time, and mode in the poem; i.e., it is both invention and disposition. In so far as it is invention, the poet must know Nature (physiology), Fate (astrology), and the gods (theology). In so far as it is disposition, the poet must know the proper ordering of these elements in his work: "For this reason we maintain that the poet having the quality of prudence is one whose gaiety, playfulness, seriousness, lowness, urbanity, loftiness, either in actions or in diction, are put in their proper place, time, and manner."<sup>23</sup> Proper ordering, moreover, follows proper understanding: "Therefore with respect to what we were advising, this first should be observed: how the imitation conforms to the object, how consistency will then accompany the imitation."<sup>24</sup> Thus *res* contributes the principle of order to the poem. "Efficacy" is the "*vis orationis repraesentantis rem excellenti modo*" (p. 116). It is a strength or vigor that resides first in Ideas, then in things, and, consequently, in words; among things, it is found either in deeds, or in speeches, or in the soul. That is, this quality will be present in the words of the poem if these words represent objects having it: "Nam tametsi in verbis esse vide-

<sup>23</sup> "Hac ratione prudentem poetam esse volumus, cuius festiuitas, lasciuia, seueritas, humilitas, ciuilitas, magniloquentia, vel in re, vel in verbis, suo loco, tempore, modo dispositae sint" (III, xxvi [=xxv], 113).

<sup>24</sup> "Quod igitur monebamus, id imprimis animaduertendum est: vt imitatio rem sequatur: constantia imitationem comitetur" (*ibid.*).

tur: tamen in rebus ipsis est primò" (p. 116).<sup>26</sup> Thus *res* contributes the principle of content to the poem. "Variety" relates both to content and to order, since to be varied the poem must avoid repetition and must not have a monotonous pattern. It is achieved again through choice and disposition of the proper subjects, "*diuersa rerum compositio*" and "*res diuersae*" (pp. 119, 120). "Suavity," finally, consists of the use of the proper style (and, above all, of the proper figures) for the expression of the *res*.

Here again, as in the definitions of the genres, we are led from an analysis of subject matter to an analysis of style, through the very way in which words depend upon things in this system. Let us then examine briefly Scaliger's discussion of what he calls "Character" and what we would call "style" (Book IV). "Character" is defined as "*dictio similis eius rei, cuius nota est, substantia, quantitate, qualitate*" (p. 174). Note again the presence of *res*. There would thus presumably be as many kinds of style as there are of things; Scaliger simplifies by distinguishing the three styles already accepted by a long tradition, the "Altiloquus," the "Medius," and the "Infinus." A long list of synonyms is proposed for each of these names. We have already seen (p. 344 above) the definition of the Grand Style, "*quod personas graues, Res excellentes continet. E quibus lectae sententiae oriuntur: quae lectis item verbis, verborumque numerosa collocatio explicantur*" (p. 183). In the gloss of this definition each of the phrases is explained. "Personae graues" are gods, heroes, kings, generals, citizens (plus a certain number of "inferior" persons such as sailors, artisans, merchants, charioteers, mingled with the others in the poem because they are so mingled in human society). "Res excellentes" are wars for peace, deliberative and judicial assemblies, heroic deeds. Both of these categories belong to *res*; from them proceed ("oriuntur") "*lectae sententiae*," which are such as the common people would not use. "*Lecta verba*" are such as are not trite; a "*numerosa collocatio*" is one "*quae quasi rem ipsam sono suo pingit*." For all of these except "*lecta verba*" the determining factor is the *res*; and even the words are "*non trita*"

<sup>26</sup> It would be interesting on this point to compare the system of Longinus, in which sublimity of words bears a similar relationship to sublimity of objects and ideas. There, however, an additional element is added, the character of the poet, and this element is dominant in the whole scheme. Cf. *MP*, XXXIX (1942), 225 ff., and especially pp. 250-51.

because they are applied to extraordinary things. Similar analyses are presented for the medium and low styles (p. 193). In their turn, figures and numbers are made appropriate to the styles, with the final result of producing an intimate chain of relationship between the broadest aspects of subject matter and the most minute details of expression.

The content, ordering, and diction of any poem will thus result almost exclusively from the concept of *res*. For *res* itself the model will be ultimately nature, but more immediately Vergil. Words will depend upon things in a purely ancillary manner, and this dependence will extend to rhythms. But a poem built solely according to the precepts of *Res-Verba* would be unsatisfactory to a Scaligerian critic, for it would fail to take into account certain prescriptions deriving (1) from the fact that poetry is language and is hence addressed to an audience and (2) from the existence of certain conventions to be observed. Let us first examine poetry in its relationship to its audience.

The audience must enter into account in any study of poetry, since poetry is language; we shall here be dealing with the proportion of Words and Men already indicated. The basic assumption here is the very first generalization of the work: "*Res omnes nostrae aut necessarii, aut utilis, aut delectabilis genere comprehenduntur*" (p. 1). Speech, belonging to human affairs, must of necessity fall into one or another of these categories—the necessary, the useful, the pleasurable. Early in the history of mankind, as a matter of fact, these functions were divided; the instrument of the philosopher, logic, was necessary; that of the statesman, oratory, was useful; that of the poet, narrative, was delightful only. But in later states of civilization oratory and poetry contributed to each other's end; oratory borrowed pleasure (through rhythm) from poetry; poetry borrowed utility (through persuasion and teaching) from oratory (cf. p. 113). Hence the end of poetry is now to teach and to delight.

Indeed, poetry must of necessity add usefulness to pleasure. For it uses words, and words are imitations, and all imitations have an end beyond themselves. This principle, stated early in the work, is reiterated forcefully in the Appendix, where Scaliger concludes: "There is thus no imitation for its own sake, for indeed every art envisages

that outside of itself which can be advantageous to somebody."<sup>26</sup> As we have already seen, the end of all the speech arts is persuasion, and hence poetry must effect some kind of persuasion. But to what will it persuade? The answer is variously given. It should remind men that they must improve: "*vt fiant meliores*" (p. 2). It should lead to a better organized life: "*vt humana vita compositior fiat*" (p. 80). It should shape men's characters so that they may arrive at the perfect action known as beatitude (p. 347). It should lead men to esteem the good and imitate their actions and to spurn the bad (p. 348). Further answers are given in the discussions of various genres. The mime should make certain actions seem ridiculous (p. 17); satire must make good men better and turn the bad from evil (p. 149). In sum, poetry should make men better so that they may live better lives. It thus supplements legislation and oratory in the direction of human affairs and becomes a part of the broader science of politics:

Wherefore it should be said that the end of the poet is to teach with pleasure, and that poetry indeed is a part of politics which is contained (although different in aspect and appearance) under the power of the legislator. For those things which are decreed in the laws, which are subjects of exhortation for the orator and the governor of the people: these things, which are the definite and distinct subjects of poetry, are combined with certain pleasurable accompaniments for the instruction of the citizenry.<sup>27</sup>

This concept of the pedagogical function of poetry is productive of certain characteristics of the poem itself. For example, it provides for the admission of almost any kind of subject matter, on condition that the proper moral lesson be deducible from the working-out of the plot. Phaedra, Jocasta, Canace, and Pasiphae are immoral women; but they may be introduced on the stage "*quum impurarum mulierum vitam mors infelix sit sequuta*" (p. 145). Moreover, the ugliness of the object represented need not deter the poet; for the instruction to be derived from its representation will bring with it a certain pleasure, and hence it will be acceptable (p. 147). The form of certain genres will

<sup>26</sup> "Nulla igitur imitatio propter se. nempe ars omnis extra se prospectat quod alicui conducibile sit" (p. 346).

<sup>27</sup> "... quamobrem dicendum est, Poetae finem esse, docere cum delectatione: Posim verò esse politicae partem, quae sub legislatore, quanquam alia facie atque colore, continetur. Nam quae iussa sunt in legibus, quae sunt apud concionatorem, moderatorémque populi suasiones: hae poetices opera certa atque separata, comparabuntur quibusdam amenitatibus ad institutionem ciuitatis" (VII, II, 347).

be entirely determined by their didactic intent; satire, for instance, must be absolutely clear, must avoid obscenity, and must guard scrupulously against stimulating in its auditors the vices that it means to extirpate (p. 149). From this same preceptive end comes the importance assigned to *sententiae*; such aphorisms become, in at least one passage, the very mainstay of tragedy: "sunt enim quasi columnae, aut pilae quaedam vniuersae fabricae illius" (p. 145). Finally, this same end accounts for the precedence given to character over action in the organization of the poem (cf. pp. 347-48), as we shall see later.

As for pleasure, we have seen that this is at best an intermediate rather than a final end; but it still retains great importance in the total theory of poetry. For poetry was at the outset exclusively pleasurable, and it now differs from the other speech arts in that it presents its lessons through the medium of pleasure, with delightful accompaniments. Pleasure is defined thus:

For pleasure is a disposition of the soul in a sound body. The cause of this disposition is what the philosophers call an object adequate to the will. Through poetry moreover the soul is reflected in itself and it draws forth from its celestial store whatever there is within it of divinity; which part indeed cannot be exhausted even by perpetual drawings-off.<sup>28</sup>

To be sure, no such metaphysical notions are present in the subsequent discussion of pleasure. Instead, we find only the vaguest and most general indications about the nature of this pleasure. It consists in part of the admiration felt by the audience for the genius of the poet, an admiration which leaves it gaping ("hiscentem," p. 119). It includes the delight of the ear in rhythm and harmony. To a certain extent it must be defined negatively: it is the absence of tedium, of monotony, of mental strain or physical discomfort.

The pursuit of the end of pleasure again imposes numerous conditions upon the poem. First and foremost, it requires of the poet that he write in verse; there is no poetry without verse. In the beginning, when poetry pleased only, it did so through song (*cantus*), and this quality has remained inseparable from it; rhythm and harmony are aspects of the "material" of poetry which must always be present:

<sup>28</sup> "Est enim laetitia affectio animi in corpore sano. Causa affectionis est, quod vocant Philosophi, obiectum adaequatum voluntati. Per Poesin autem reflectitur anima in seipsam, atque promittit à caelesti suo penu quod diuinitati inest: quae pars ne perpetuis quidem haustibus exhauriri potest" (I. ii, 4).



The name of poet therefore did not come from his "feigning," as some thought because he used feigned objects; but in the beginning was derived from the making of verse. That is, this rhythmical power by which verses are expressed came into being at the same time as human nature itself.<sup>29</sup>

Second, the need for pleasure has been responsible for the rise of certain minor genres; the mind of the auditor has demanded relaxation or relief from serious or noble spectacles, and such relief has been provided by less pretentious interludes. Thus Fescennine song has grown out of the Atellan comedy, and mime out of comedy, "ad augendam varietatem lusus"; satire has come from tragedy "ad atrocitatem leniendam" and "ad eluendas allati moeroris maculas . . . cum risu, & iocis, & petulantia"; parody has proceeded from rhapsody as "asperitatis tragicæ diverticula" (p. 19) and "ad animi remissionem" (p. 46). Within a given work, third, all the elements that make for suspense or interest have pleasure as their basis. The division into protasis, epitasis, catastasis, and catastrophe is justified in this way, with the use of such phrases as "animum semper auditoris suspensum habens ad expectationem" and "vt non tam saturet animum, quàm incendat" (p. 15). The laws for ordering the plot are directed "ad tollendam satietatem" (p. 86) and to exciting interest: "Ea sanè vel vnica vel præcipua virtus, auditorem quasi captiuium detinere" (p. 144; cf. p. 147). Prolixity as well as undue brevity must be avoided (p. 12). Variety of subject matter and expression must be achieved (p. 120; cf. p. 347). Finally, the whole relationship of poetry to truth, already examined, is in part justified as a means to pleasure: "We are pleased either by subjects for mirth, as is the case in comedy, or by serious subjects if they are more like the truth; for the greater part of men hate falsehood."<sup>30</sup> This statement comes in justification of an earlier one: "The subject matters themselves are to be composed and ordered in such a way that they approach the truth as closely as possible,"<sup>31</sup> and is followed by examples upon which is founded a complete theory of verisimilitude (pp. 145-46). Thus whatever elements in the

<sup>29</sup> "Poetae igitur nomen non à fingendo, vt putarunt, quia fictis vteretur: sed initio à faciendo versu ductum est. simul enim cum ipsa natura humana extitit vis hæc numerosa, quibus versus clauduntur" (p. 3; cf. pp. 1, 5, 55).

<sup>30</sup> "Delectamur autem vel iocis, quod est Comoediae: vel rebus seriis, si vero sita propiores, nam mendacia maxima pars hominum odit."

<sup>31</sup> "Res autem ipsae ita deducendae disponendaeque sunt, vt quam proximè accedant ad veritatem."

poem are not present because of their presence in natural objects are added because they serve the ends of instruction and pleasure; the few exceptions to this statement come under the heading of conventions.

Scaliger works in an authoritarian tradition, and since his authorities are many and of widely diversified critical standpoints, he must find it impossible to fit some of the rules that he borrows from them into his own system. Whenever it is possible, however, he makes just such an adaptation. We have seen how the rules for decorum are transmuted into the requirements for *persona* and how the parts of the play are made to serve the end of pleasure. In the latter case, an elaborate scheme of justification is developed (pp. 14-15). Similarly, a kind of "unity of time" and "unity of place" are introduced on grounds of verisimilitude: "Thus I am neither pleased by those battles and sieges which are accomplished at Thebes within two hours, nor do I think that a wise poet should make a personage pass from Delphi to Athens or from Athens to Thebes in a moment";<sup>32</sup> a later passage expands the idea: "Since the action represented on the stage is actually accomplished within six or eight hours, it is not verisimilar that during this time a tempest should come up, a ship should sink at a point at sea from which land is invisible."<sup>33</sup> But for such a rule as the limitation of plays to five acts no reason is given (p. 15), and other similar conventions are accepted merely from authority or tradition. On the whole, however, the part that convention plays in this work is comparatively small; for most aspects of poetry, Scaliger finds a means of introducing them into his system.

The general features of that system will now be apparent. Poetry, for Scaliger, stands in a dual relationship: on the one hand, it is related to the things represented by the words and, on the other hand, to the men for whom the representation is made. Each of these relationships is such that words become the minor element. Nature imposes one set of conditions upon poetry; the needs of the audience, another. Poetry has no conditions or principles of its own (except

<sup>32</sup> "Itaque nec praelia illa, aut oppugnationes, quae ad Thebas duabus horis conficiuntur, placent mihi. nec prudentis Poetae est, efficere ut Delphis Athenas, aut Athenis Thebas, momento temporis quispiam proficiscatur" (p. 145).

<sup>33</sup> "Quum enim Scenicum negotium totum sex octôue horis peragatur, haud verisimile est, & ortam tempestatem, & obrutam nauem eo in maris tractu, vnde terrae conspectus nullus" (*ibid.*). Cf. Linthilhac, *Nouvelle revue*, LXIV, 345, and *De J.-C. Scaligeri Poeticae*, pp. 31-32, for his interpretations of these passages.

such as are purely prosodic). Whatever is said about poetry must be equally appropriate to the natural sciences, on the one hand, or to political (or "human") science, on the other. This Scaliger emphasizes when he points out that the poet must (on the one hand) be expert in physiology (or natural science), astrology, and theology and that he operates (on the other hand) in the realm of politics. The conventions constitute an exception; but they illustrate the same general method, since they too involve a reference for poetic principles to ideas outside the poem itself. There can thus be no independent science of poetics; poetry can be considered only in relationship to the scheme of things entire.

### III

We are now in a position to explain Scaliger's differences with Aristotle on the four important points mentioned at the beginning of this study. For some of these the answers have already been suggested in the course of the analysis, and we shall merely have to point up the conclusions.

1. *The definition of tragedy.*—The two definitions offered are constituted in entirely different ways. That of Aristotle grows out of the original statement that poetry is a species of the genus imitation and the further statement that imitations differ from one another in the object, manner, and means of imitation. The first three clauses of the definition will indicate these three aspects of tragedy in so far as it belongs to the genus imitation, and the fourth (or *katharsis*) clause will supply the differentia that distinguishes it from other species. In Aristotle all definitions are constituted by a similar indication of genus and differentia.<sup>34</sup> But such a definition is meaningless for Scaliger, since the establishment of genera and of species within them—the isolation of the class of objects to which a given science is pertinent—is not germane to his method. We should expect rather that he would derive a definition from the things-words-audience relationship at the basis of his system. This is indeed the case. "*Imitatio per actiones illustris fortunae, exitu infelici, oratione graui metrica*" contains these parts: (A) indication that it is a dramatic imitation of (B) the mis-

<sup>34</sup> The fact that the indication of genus is here tripartite results from the fact that we are dealing not with a natural but with an artificial object; hence we must account (1) for the object in nature which is imitated, (2) for the artificial medium by which the imitation is effected, and (3) for the mode of the imitation.

fortune of some important personage, (C) having an unhappy ending, (D) expressed in a diction appropriate to these events, and (E) in verse. At first glance it might seem that the constituent parts are the same as those of Aristotle's definition, with A being an indication of manner, B of object, C of a kind of differentia, and D and E of the means. But in the light of Scaliger's total approach another interpretation becomes much more plausible: B and C refer to *Res*, showing the kind of person, the general character and progress of the action; D refers to the kind of style (or *Verba*) appropriate to such "things." A and E merely situate tragedy in the realm of poetry and indicate that it is dramatic rather than narrative. In passing, we might note the similar constitution of other definitions. That of comedy (already quoted) as "poema dramaticum, negotiosum, exitu laetum, stylo populari" emphasizes the kind and progress of the action and the style. That of mime, "poema quoduis genus actionis imitans ita, vt ridiculum faciat" (p. 17), concerns the action and the effect upon the audience. In these there is not even the vaguest resemblance to an Aristotelian definition.

Scaliger's commentary on Aristotle is also thoroughly consistent with his general approach. He interprets μέγθος, for example, in relation to the pleasure and displeasure of the audience, in spite of Aristotle's explicit warning to the contrary (1451a6). He discards harmony and song as nonessential, since they belong only to the tragedy as acted, not as read. For κάθαρσις he offers no explanation but only an unsupported objection.

2. *The qualitative parts of tragedy.*—The six parts of tragedy as listed by Aristotle proceed again from the object-manner-means distinction: plot, character, and thought from object, spectacle from manner, diction and song from means. Since this basic distinction is inoperative in Scaliger's work, he naturally discards a division of parts founded upon it and substitutes in its place another division (protasis, epitasis, catastasis, and catastrophe). It will be noted that this division concerns plot exclusively and is justified in terms of the pleasure of the audience. But there is perhaps a still more fundamental difference. What Scaliger objects to above all is the fact that the six parts of Aristotle's analysis are not on the same level of importance, that plot is the whole, character a part of plot, thought (as he inter-

prets it) a part of diction, diction merely an ornament. He would, instead, limit himself to plot alone and distinguish in it parts of like nature and importance. But it is of the very essence of Aristotle's poetics that these parts should be arranged in a hierarchy, with one of them, plot, including as it were all the others and determining their relationship. A poem is, for Aristotle, a whole whose unity is achieved (through aesthetic means) in the proper co-ordination and subordination of all the parts. Such structural or formal relationships are, again, meaningless for Scaliger, whose references are all to norms of nature or of the audience rather than to aesthetic principles.

3. *The end of poetry.*—For Aristotle the end of poetry is imitation in the sense that the poet strives to create a work which will have its own form and independent existence while still representing some aspect of the object in nature. The emphasis is on this form rather than on the effect that it may have on any given audience. For Scaliger such a thesis is untenable, given the decisive role of the audience in his own system. Hence he rejects imitation as the end of poetry and substitutes pleasure and instruction in its place. It should be pointed out that, when he says that "not every poem is an imitation," he is using imitation in the sense of dramatic representation; such a term as "imitation" will have manifold meanings in this work, and it is necessary to distinguish from the context the meaning in any given passage. The "two absurdities" resulting from Aristotle's idea are (1) that poetry will have to include certain imitations that are not poems (an absurdity that arises only if one deduces the false converse proposition that all imitations are poems) and (2) that all works in verse are not necessarily poems—which, for Scaliger, is nonsense since verse is one of the distinguishing characteristics of poetry.

4. *The relative importance of plot and character.*—Aristotle's reasons for making plot the "soul" of poetry are clearly stated in the *Poetics*: the plot is the unifying element to which all others are subordinated. In his objection to this idea Scaliger argues again from external rather than from internal considerations. The end of poetry is to produce "beatific" action in the audience, and this is brought about through the formation of proper character in the audience. Hence the poet will seek to give his audience an example of the proper kind of character, with action introduced only in an illustrative capacity. There

will thus be a difference between poetry and life. Poetry will display action in order to produce character; in life character will lead to action. If poetry and life be joined in a causal sequence, the sequence will be as follows: action in the poem > character in the poem > character in the audience > action of the audience in life. Thus character assumes its rank in the poem not from any internal necessity but from the inevitable conjoining (for Scaliger) of poetry with life.

These differences between Scaliger and Aristotle are interesting not only for themselves and for the further light that they throw on Scaliger's theory but also as an indication of the extent to which Renaissance theory differed from the classical (or "Aristotelian") doctrine on which it claimed to be based. Two more completely opposed points of view could hardly be adduced. Furthermore, these differences serve to emphasize the unity, the consistency, and the general integrity of Scaliger's system. It is a system which is so completely and so well conceived that Scaliger does not shrink from challenging even the authority of Aristotle when that authority is unacceptable. It is a system whose broad first principles are productive of most of the detailed conclusions and into which even the most disparate elements are made to fit without too great an appearance of effort or inappropriateness.

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HUME AS LITERARY PATRON: A SUPPRESSED  
REVIEW OF ROBERT HENRY'S *HISTORY OF  
GREAT BRITAIN*, 1773

ERNEST CAMPBELL MOSSNER

IN THE third quarter of the eighteenth century, David Hume was the leading man of letters of Great Britain. His pre-eminence was such as to place him above ordinary literary controversy: he could afford to ignore those who disagreed with him. Incapable of jealousy, personal or literary, Hume always candidly praised whenever praise was due. His letters of high commendation to Gibbon, Robertson, and Smith, of works encroaching, as it were, upon his own literary domains, are classics of disinterestedness and generosity. His many acts of assistance to rivals, such as the celebrated correcting of the manuscript of Wallace's *Dissertation on the numbers of mankind* (1753), a work professedly in confutation of his own *Of the populousness of ancient nations* (1752), are well known. His patronage was especially available to fellow-Scots, but it was also available to all who were worthy, needy, or oppressed.

Robert Henry was a Scot, worthy, needy, and oppressed. He was the author of the *History of Great Britain from the first invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar. Written on a new plan* (1771-93), which, originally turned down by the publishers, was brought out at the author's expense. This work was subjected to a deliberate campaign of persecution designed for the ruin of the author, such as can scarcely be paralleled in the annals of literature. In the end, to be sure, it triumphed over all obstacles and came to hold a consequential position in the learned world, Henry profiting from the sales to the astonishing extent of some £3,300. His rising reputation as historian brought him in 1771 the degree of D.D. from Edinburgh University and in 1781, on the recommendation of the Earl of Mansfield, a pension of £100 from George III. The unpleasant tale of literary intrigue waged against Henry was sketched by Isaac Disraeli in his *Calamities of authors* (1812). It is now to be retold more completely and from a



new viewpoint as the required setting for a suppressed and long-lost review of Hume's that has recently come to light.

Dr. Robert Henry (1718-90) was a minister of the Church of Scotland and a scholar of considerable learning. About 1763 he had conceived the idea of writing a history of Great Britain but for some time was frustrated by the lack of library facilities at Berwick where he then held a living. Transfer in 1768 to the New Grey Friars Church of Edinburgh gave him the needed opportunities for research; and he prosecuted his studies with such industry that by the summer of 1770 he had completed the manuscript of the first volume. Before attempting to get it published, he was encouraged to solicit the criticism and the patronage of Hume.

Hume's interests in history had not abated since the completion of his own *History of England* in 1762; and he was still employed from time to time in revisions as new editions continued to be demanded. Always concerned with the philosophical aspects of the methods of history, he was genuinely impressed with Henry's. Hume did recognize, however, that the newness of Henry's plan was relative, telling Boswell<sup>1</sup> that it resembled Adam Anderson's *Historical and chronological deduction of the origin of commerce* (1764). But Henry's chief source was President Antoine Yves Goguet's *Origine des loix, des arts, des sciences, et de leur progrès chez les anciens peuples* (1758), of which he himself had actually translated the first volume for the Edinburgh edition of 1761.<sup>2</sup> Henry's real indebtedness to Goguet might have been expected to be acknowledged when accrediting himself with composing the *History of Great Britain* "on a new plan," but it was not. Though

<sup>1</sup> Boswell, *Letters*, ed. C. B. Tinker (Oxford, 1924), I, 177.

<sup>2</sup> Henry's translation of Goguet's first volume is placed beyond all reasonable doubt by the authority of George Ridpath, his relation by marriage. Under May 29, 1761, Ridpath entered in his *Diary* (ed. Sir James Balfour Paul [Edinburgh, 1922], p. 385): "... read more of the first volume of Goguet at night. This volume was translated by Henry, and is much freer of faults than those of the other two I have looked into." The work is also ascribed to Henry in the catalogue of the National Library of Scotland and in Halkett and Laing, *A dictionary of the anonymous and pseudonymous literature of Great Britain* (new and enlarged ed. by James Kennedy, W. A. Smith, and A. F. Johnson [Edinburgh, 1928], IV, 270). The recent *CBEL*, however, remains ignorant of Henry's connection with it (II, 781). The statement of Henry Mackenzie in *Anecdotes and egotisms* (ed. H. W. Thompson [London, 1927], p. 227) that Andrew Hume "suggested to Dr. Henry the new plan of his History of English into sections or departments ..." may, of course, also be strictly true. The actual methods employed by Henry are carefully described by Hume in the review below.

Henry may have lacked a delicate scholarly conscience, there seems no reason to question his good intentions. Certainly Hume did not.

Determined to do something tangible for his new clerical protégé, Hume, at the beginning of August, 1770, wrote a letter of warm recommendation to his London publisher and friend, William Strahan. This letter<sup>3</sup> must be ranked among the finest of its type in the language. The first sentence is perhaps the most frequently quoted of Hume's—though usually out of context.

DEAR STRAHAN

I believe this is the historical Age and this the historical Nation: I know no less than eight Histories upon the Stocks in this Country; all which have different Degrees of Merit, from the Life of Christ, the most sublime of the whole, as I presume from the Subject, to Dr Robertson's American History, which lies in the other Extremity.

You will very soon be visited by one, who carries with him a Work, that has really Merit: It is Dr Henry, the Author of the History of England, writ on a new Plan. He has given to the World a Sheet or two, containing his Idea, which he will probably communicate to you. I have perus'd all his Work, and have a very good Opinion of it. It contains a great deal of Good Sense and Learning, convey'd in a perspicuous, natural, and correct Expression. The only discouraging Circumstance is its Size: This Specimen contains two Quartos, and yet gives us only the History of Great Britain from the Invasion of Julius Caesar to that of the Saxons: One is apt to think that the whole, spun out to the same Length, must contain at least a hundred Volumes: And unhappily, the beginning of the Work will be for a long time very uninteresting, which may not prepossess the World in its favour. The Performance however has very considerable Merit; and I could wish that you and Mr Cadel may usher it in to the Public. I wish that Dr Robertson's Success may not have renderd the Author too sanguine in his pecuniary Expectations: I dare advise nothing on that head, of which you are the better Judge. I should only think, that some Plan, which would reserve to the Author the Chance of profiting by his good Success and yet not expose the Booksellers to too much hazard, might be the most suitable. You know, that I have been always very reserv'd in my Recommendations; and that when an Author, tho much connected with me, has produced a Work, which I could not entirely approve of, I rather pretended total Ignorance of the Matter, than abuse my Credit with you. Dr Henry is not personally much known to

<sup>3</sup> *Letters of David Hume*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig (Oxford, 1932), II, 230-31. Greig is unable to identify the "Life of Christ" mentioned by Hume; but it is probably the *Observations on the history of Jesus Christ* (1771), 2 vols. 12mo, of John Hunter, minister at St. Andrews. Hume would have heard of this work through some of his "friendly adversaries" at the university there.

me, as he has been but lately settled in this Town, but I cannot refuse doing Justice to his Work: He has likewise personally a very good Character in the World, which renders it so far safe to have dealings with him. For the same Reason, I wish for his Sake that he may conclude with you. You see I am a good Casuist, and can distinguish Cases very nicely. It is certainly a wrong thing to deceive any body, much more a Friend; but yet the Difference must still be allowd between deceiving a man for his Good and for his Injury.

I am Dear Sir Yours sincerely

DAVID HUME

And a few days later, he again addressed himself to Strahan relative to Henry:<sup>4</sup>

DEAR SIR

This Letter will be deliverd to you by Dr Henry, concerning whom and whose work, I have wrote you by the Post: I have rather chosen that Method of conveying my Sentiments than by a Letter of Recommendation, which are often understood to be formal things and carry less weight with them. You will there see, that my Esteem of Dr Henry and his Performance are very sincere and cordial.

I am Dear Sir

Your most obedient and most humble Servant

DAVID HUME

EDINBURGH  
10 of Augt 1770

Despite Hume's friendly overtures, the immediate result was far from happy. Strahan, not unnaturally, objected to the extraordinary length of the projected work of an unknown author. But Hume did not give in so easily. On January 21, 1771, he continued to press the point:

Dr Henry's History is undoubtedly liable to the Objection you mention. It will be of enormous Size; and he himself, tho' a laborious Man, never expects to finish it. I think also the Price he demanded exorbitant. It is however writ with Perspicuity and Propriety of Style, as I told you; but neither sprightly nor elegant; and it is judicious, but not curious: There is danger of its appearing prolix to ordinary Readers: The Subject of his next Volume will be still more uninteresting than that of his first.<sup>5</sup>

Heedless of all warnings, Henry confidently expected to match the unprecedented success of Dr. Robertson. He was soon disillusioned.

<sup>4</sup> Hume, *Letters*, II, 231

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234.

On March 1, Strahan informed Hume categorically that "the price he [Henry] expected for it, was, in my estimation, so much beyond its value, that I carefully avoided making him an offer at all."<sup>6</sup> To which Hume returned ten days later, still standing by his original position: "I maintand and still maintain that Henry's History has merit; tho' I own'd and still own, that the Length of the Undertaking is a great Objection to its Success; perhaps an insuperable one."<sup>7</sup>

The publisher, in the conservative tradition of his trade, was unwilling to take any risks. A "compromise" was finally effected by which Henry agreed to bring the work out at his own expense through Strahan and Cadell. Dr. Robertson may, indeed, have been entirely correct when he told Dr. Johnson that "Henry erred in not selling his first volume at a moderate price to the booksellers, that they might have pushed him on till he had got reputation."<sup>8</sup> But be that as it may, the first volume appeared late in 1771 and was well, if not enthusiastically, reviewed. At this juncture, Henry must have imagined that the worst of his troubles was over and that he might henceforth devote himself to historical research. Little did he reckon on the malice of a fellow-countryman!

Gilbert Stuart (1742-86) was a Scot of brilliant though superficial genius. The son of an Edinburgh University professor of the Latin language and Roman antiquities, he had at the age of twenty-six published *An historical dissertation concerning the antiquity of the English constitution* (1768). A copy of this work—an early anticipation of the pro-Germanism of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—he sent to Hume, together with a modest letter acknowledging that he differed from that authority only with the greatest deference and respect.<sup>9</sup> Hume was not favorably impressed with Stuart's conjectural attempt to illustrate the passing dictum of Montesquieu: "Si l'on veut lire l'admirable ouvrage de *Tacite* sur les mœurs des Germains, on verra que c'est d'eux que les *Anglois* ont tiré l'idée de leur gouvernement politique. Ce beau système a été trouvé dans les bois." Yet he feared

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 234, n. 2.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 238.

<sup>8</sup> *Bozwell's Life of Johnson*, ed. G. B. Hill and revised by L. F. Powell (Oxford, 1934—), III, 333-34.

<sup>9</sup> *Calendar of Hume MSS in the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, ed. J. Y. T. Greig and Harold Beynon, MS VII, 74. The quotation from Montesquieu appears on Stuart's title-page.

to discourage youthful promise. The direct reply to Stuart is not extant; fortunately, however, it was inclosed in a letter to Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto, Hume's close friend, with a comment characteristic of his latest literary period:

I send you my Letter enclos'd to Mr Stewart, which I hope is calculated to encourage a young Man of Merit, without overstraining the Compliment. It were better, however, for him, and for every body, to pursue, in Preference to the idle Trade of Writing, some other lawful Occupation, such as Cheating like an Attorney, Quacking like a Physician, Canting & Hypocrising like a Parson &c &c &c. It is for very little Purpose to go out of the common Track. Does he expect to make Men wiser? A very pretty Expectation truly!<sup>10</sup>

Stuart was abundantly rewarded for inexpert theorizing when, in 1769, he was granted the honorary degree of LL.D. by Edinburgh University. His first success had tempted him to go to London the previous year to take up the profession of letters: there he hacked for the *Monthly review*, translated for the publishers,<sup>11</sup> and laid plans for a great new enterprise. In 1773 he returned to Scotland to edit through "a Society of Gentlemen," William Creech, William Kerr, Alexander Kincaid, and William Smellie, the *Edinburgh magazine and review*.

From the beginning, the new periodical caught the public attention. From the beginning, also, it displayed a fundamental weakness for personal invective. This tone of invective is to be contrasted with the conciliatory notice "To the Public," announcing the policy of the editors on book-reviewing: "They will pronounce their opinions with freedom, but will not stoop to indulge in ill-nature, or in satire. Their commendation will be tinged with no malicious reserve, and their censure will not rise into petulance or acrimony." The weakness of the periodical was the weakness of the chief editor, who had come to detest the leading writers of his native land.

Various conjectures have been made to account for Stuart's animosity, but none has been substantiated. The indisputable fact is that by 1773 he hated everything Scottish and endeavored to work off his spleen through literary vituperation. After a year's trial of the *Edin-*

<sup>10</sup> Hume, *Letters*, II, 184.

<sup>11</sup> The Huntington Library manuscript, HM 2987, establishes that Stuart had connections as translator in London with the publisher Becket.

burgh magazine and review, it became clear that London was not being lured into subscriptions by anti-Scottish bait. And Stuart's sentiments concerning Edinburgh, on the realization of this fact, are expressed in the language of monomania:

*I mortally detest and abhor this place, and everybody in it. Never was there a city where there was so much pretension to knowledge, and that had so little of it. The solemn foppery, and the gross stupidity of the Scottish literati, are perfectly insupportable. . . . A curse on the country, and all the men, women, and children of it!*<sup>12</sup>

A malediction worthy of the anti-Caledonianism of a Churchill or a Wilkes!

But to return to 1773 and the early issues of the *Edinburgh magazine and review*. Stuart's heaviest critical guns were leveled against three Scottish men of letters—Lord Kames, Lord Monboddo, and Dr. Henry. In his malevolence, Stuart attempted to insert in the first issue a print of Lord Monboddo "in his quadruped form" but was prevented by his collaborators. Dr. Henry succeeded as the chief object of attack; and Stuart hounded him through the pages of the periodical, making use of briefs in the monthly "Edinburgh news," of pretended letters to the editor, and of reviews.

"Literary hatred. Exhibiting a conspiracy against an author"—the title of Disraeli's article—can hardly be improved upon. Yet the conspiracy was even darker than Disraeli dreamed of, for it is now known that while in the employ of the *Monthly review* in 1771 Stuart had written a favorable notice of Henry's first volume.<sup>13</sup> The concluding paragraph may be cited:

Our historian, throughout the whole of the present volume, has very exactly referred to the sources from which he has gathered his information. Those materials which could not be inserted with propriety in the body of his performance, he has annexed to it in the form of an appendix. It clearly appears to us, that he has made truth the end of his enquiries; and that on no occasion has he sacrificed it to ingenuity and ornament. His industry and candour are highly worthy of approbation. In regard to composition, his work has not attained, in our opinion, that masterly polish which distin-

<sup>12</sup> Isaac Disraeli, *Calamities of authors* (London, 1812), II, 60-61.

<sup>13</sup> For the attribution of this review to Stuart cf. B. C. Nangle, *The Monthly review, first series, 1749-1789: indexes of contributors and articles* (Oxford, 1934), No. 1878. The review itself is in XLV (1771), 30-39.

guishes the more eminent productions of the present age; but his style, it may be observed, though sometimes feeble and careless, cannot justly be censured as either mean or obscure.

When he came to the second volume of Henry's *History of Great Britain* of 1773, Stuart reversed himself. And it is in this connection that Hume re-enters the story. A few months previous, Henry had published a sermon entitled *Revelation the most effectual means of civilizing and reforming mankind*. This unpretentious and—it must be confessed—unphilosophical effort was severely handled in the first number of the *Edinburgh magazine and review* in November, 1773. Actually the review was by the mild-mannered William Smellie and not by Stuart. But Henry took immediate alarm over the treatment he might expect for the forthcoming second volume of his history. His reputation and his fortune were at stake, for on the one he had risked the other in the contract with his publishers. In desperation he turned for succor to his new patron. Having read and approved of an advance copy, Hume agreed to write a favorable review for the very citadel of the enemy, the *Edinburgh magazine and review*.

Henry's plan of defense was astute but failed of success because of the editor's secret conspiracy. Hume acquainted Stuart with his desire to do the review; and on December 13, 1773, the latter confided to a London colleague: "David Hume wants to review Henry: but that task is so precious that I will undertake it myself. Moses, were he to ask it as a favour, should not have it; yea, not even the man after God's own heart."<sup>14</sup> Yet outright refusal of such a relatively small favor as the writing of a review was hardly to be made to the dean of British historians; and, indeed, Stuart's scheme was perfectly Machiavellian.<sup>15</sup> Hume was permitted to send in the review. If it proved un-

<sup>14</sup> Disraeli, p. 65.

<sup>15</sup> It was so Machiavellian as to dupe his partners in the *Edinburgh magazine and review*. The present writer has, therefore, to depart from the account of William Smellie in his *Life of David Hume* (Edinburgh, 1800), pp. 203-4. But Smellie's ingenuous version must be given here for the sake of comparison:

"When the periodical paper called the *Edinburgh Magazine and Review* was publishing in the year 1773, the late Rev. Dr Henry, then one of the ministers of this city, a most laborious clergyman, as well as a facetious and good-humoured companion, brought forth the second volume of his *History of Great Britain*. Dr Henry, it was said, applied, in the most earnest manner, to Mr Hume to give an account of that volume in the Review, to which Mr Hume gave his assent. When the manuscript appeared, after reading it, the praises appeared to be so high-strained, that the Reviewers, in my presence, agreed that Mr Hume's account was meant as a burlesque upon the author. It was, therefore, com-



favorable, so much the better, as Stuart could later add to the flames. When, however, it was discovered to be friendly, Stuart deliberately set about to reduce it to absurdity: the name of Dr. MacQueen, Hume's antagonist, was substituted for that of Dr. Robertson, his friend; the tone of sincere commendation was altered to one of ironical adulation; the promise was made to continue the article in a subsequent issue. In this mutilated state, the proof sheets were returned to Hume.

Highly indignant, Hume wrote a letter<sup>16</sup> of strong reproof to Stuart, tactfully attributing the alterations to the printer's carelessness:

ST ANDREWS SQUARE 23 OF DECR 1773

SIR

I wish you would check your Printer with some Severity for the Freedoms he uses; I suppose to divert himself. He has substituted the Name of Dr Mac Queen, whom certainly I did not think of, instead of Dr Robertson, to whose Merit I meant to do some Justice. The last Paragraph, which seems to be entirely his own, is also too high a Praise for a new Author like Dr Henry. But, if you want a few Sentences to fill up the Page, I have added them, and beg that you would take care, that the Printer throw them off faithfully. I am Sir

Your most obedient Servant

DAVID HUME

The corrected review with the new conclusion was now totally rejected by Stuart, although space had been reserved for it in the January, 1774, number. Instead, the editor printed his own devastating

mitted to the farther consideration of one of their number [obviously Stuart], who still continued to be of the same opinion, and, accordingly, raised the encomiums so high, that no person could mistake the supposed meaning of the writer. The types of the Manuscript, in this last form, were composed, and proof-sheets sent to Mr Hume for his perusal and corrections. To the astonishment of the Reviewers, Mr Hume wrote them an angry letter, complaining, in the highest terms, of the freedoms they had used with his manuscript, and declaring that in the account he had given of Dr Henry's History, he was perfectly sincere. Upon which, Mr Hume's review was cancelled, and another was written by a member of the Society [Stuart], condemning the book in terms perhaps too severe; so that Mr Hume's intention of serving Dr Henry was not only abortive, but produced an opposite effect."

Smellie's version is closely followed by Robert Kerr in *Memoirs of the life, writings, and correspondence of William Smellie* (Edinburgh, 1811), I, 415-17.

<sup>16</sup> This hitherto unpublished letter of Hume's is in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles. Permission to publish has kindly been granted the writer. The letter will be included in the supplement to Greig's edition of Hume's *Letters* to be brought out by Drs. R. Klibansky and W. G. MacLagan of Oriel College, Oxford.

blast in February and March. A few illustrations will demonstrate his technique:

Uncommon distinctness and accuracy might perhaps have been expected from the plan which our author has adopted. No contradictory assertions, one would have thought, would have disgraced a work, which led to a minute and continued investigation of the different topics it proposed to illustrate. It is, therefore, a pain to us, that we cannot bestow on it the fullest commendation for possessing these qualities. . . .

The only writer of modern times, if we except our author, who has attempted to embellish history with wit, is the celebrated M. de Voltaire. With what grace they have done so, we will not inquire; nor will we venture to contrast the brilliancy and liveliness of the one, with the jejune jokes of the other. This last task would lead us into an impropriety, not less absurd, than if we should compare the History of the Seven Champions of Christendom and the Annals of Tacitus. . . .

Nor has this author compensated the defect of his information by the elegance of his manner, and the beauties of his language. He neither furnishes entertainment nor instruction. Diffuse, vulgar, and ungrammatical, he strips history of all her ornaments. As an antiquary, he wants accuracy and knowledge; and as an historian, he is destitute of fire, taste, and sentiment. His work is a gazette, in which we meet with the names, not the characters, of personages. The mind of his reader is affected with no agreeable emotions: It is awakened only to disgust and fatigue.<sup>17</sup>

So much for the editorial promises of "To the Public"!

Naïvely confident of the disastrous effects of his abuse of Henry, Stuart boasted on March 4 to his London correspondent:

This month Henry is utterly demolished: his sale is stopt, many of his copies are returned: and his old friends have forsaken him: pray in what state is he in London? Henry has delayed his London journey; you cannot easily conceive how exceedingly he is humbled.

I wish I could transport myself to London to review him for the *Monthly*. A fire there, and in the *Critical*, would perfectly annihilate him. Could you do nothing in the latter? To the former I suppose David Hume has transcribed the Criticism he intended for us. It is precious, and would divert you. I keep a proof of it in my cabinet, for the amusement of friends. This great philosopher begins to doat.<sup>18</sup>

The article on Henry's second volume in the *Monthly review* was actually by Dr. Andrew Kippis and is unbiased and commendatory.

<sup>17</sup> *Edinburgh magazine and review*, I (1773-74), 199-200, 269, 270.

<sup>18</sup> Disraeli, pp. 66-67.

But Stuart apparently instigated the unfriendly account in the *Critical review*, which resulted in another bitter controversy.<sup>19</sup> Henry's influence with the *Monthly review* is hinted in Stuart's letter of March 27:

It pleases me, beyond what I can express, that Whitaker has an equal contempt for Henry. The idiot threatened, when he left Edinburgh, that he would find a method to manage the Reviews, and that he would oppose their panegyric to our censure. Hume has behaved ill in the affair, and I am preparing to chastise him. You may expect a series of papers in the Magazine, pointing out a multitude of his errors, and ascertaining his ignorance of English history. It was too much for my temper to be assailed both by infidels and believers. My pride could not submit to it. I shall act in my defence with a spirit which it seems they have not expected.<sup>20</sup>

Stuart attempted to manage the chastisement of Hume through John Whitaker (1735-1808), an antiquarian of enormous industry, the first section of whose *History of Manchester* had just reached a second edition in 1773. Under pretext of reviewing this work, Stuart opened the attack on Hume:

In an appendix which our historian has added to his first book, he has made remarks on the histories of Mr Carte and Mr Hume. The last he seems to have examined most attentively; and he expresses himself concerning it with the spirit which becomes an inquirer after truth. If his censure is bold, let it be acknowledged that it is decisive. It carries every where conviction along with it. We are fully disposed to allow Mr Hume all his merits: The same justice we owe to Mr Whitaker; and we hesitate not to pronounce, that, as far as his criticism goes, the wounds he inflicts are deep and mortal.<sup>21</sup>

In a second article on Whitaker, Stuart continued against Hume: "We cannot but mention it as a circumstance somewhat remarkable, that, while the philosophy of Mr Hume has been assailed by such a number of combatants, his history, though, in many respects, exceptionable, should have been the foundation of so little animadversion."<sup>22</sup> Yet with his usual superficiality, Stuart never got around to the more difficult task he had so eagerly conceived of—a series of papers to expose Hume's "ignorance of English history." Later, instead, he car-

<sup>19</sup> A rather unreliable account of this affair in the *Critical review* is to be found in Chambers and Thomson, *Biographical dictionary of eminent Scotemen* (Edinburgh, 1855), art. "Henry."

<sup>20</sup> Disraeli, p. 70.

<sup>21</sup> *Edinburgh magazine and review*, II, 490.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, III, 259.

ried on a vendetta against Hume's brother-historian and friend, Dr. Robertson.

On April 11 Stuart wrote enigmatically to London: "I shall fall upon a method to let David know Henry's transaction about his Review. It is mean to the last degree. But what could one expect from the most ignorant and the most contemptible man alive?"<sup>23</sup> What secret transaction Henry could possibly have had with Stuart concerning Hume's review is perhaps beyond conjecture. But Stuart's remark to the same correspondent on May 20—"David's critique was most acceptable. It is a curious specimen in one view of insolent vanity, and in another of contemptible meanness. The old Historian begins to doat, and the new one was never out of dotage"<sup>24</sup>—is interesting because it suggests that before that date Hume may possibly have sent a version of some part of his review to one of the London journals.<sup>25</sup>

On April 3 Stuart had exulted fiendishly: "I see every day that what is written to a man's disparagement is never forgot nor forgiven. Poor Henry is on the point of death, and his friends declare that I have killed him. I received the information as a compliment, and begged they would not do me so much honour."<sup>26</sup> Needless to say, the historian's death was but wishful thinking on the part of his tormentor. Henry lived to a good old age and saw his work become so successful as finally to be taken over as a commercial venture by the publishers.

<sup>23</sup> Disraeli, p. 71.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 72.

<sup>25</sup> Whether he did or not remains uncertain. At any rate, two modified selections from his article appeared in the *Monthly review* (LXXII [1785], 414-15) in William Rose's account of Henry's fifth volume. The quotations are introduced with the comment: "Our readers will not be displeased to be told, that the late Mr. D. Hume expresses himself, in a paper now before us, in the warmest terms of approbation, in regard to the two first volumes of Dr. Henry's history, which were published before Mr. Hume's death." Expanded selections are quoted in the article on Henry by Malcolm Laing in the third edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. The same article appears in the *Gentleman's magazine* and the *Scots magazine* for 1791. Laing was the editor of the sixth volume of Henry's history, posthumously issued in 1793. The paragraphs in question, cited as "by one of the most eminent historians of the present age, whose history of the same periods justly possesses the highest reputation," are given in nn. 30 and 37 below.

<sup>26</sup> Disraeli, p. 72.

And so ends the story back of Hume's kindly intended review of Henry's *History of Great Britain*. As to the review itself—one of a very few that Hume is known to have written during a long career as man of letters—it may suffice to say that in form it is a typical review of the eighteenth century. A general and descriptive opening, a critical evaluation by way of conclusion, and the long remainder is almost wholly given up to illustrative quotations from the original. The most interesting critical part is the statement on historiography in the penultimate paragraph, where Hume specifically subscribes to the distinction between the antiquarian and the historian, the researcher delving into the data of the past and the thinker discerning meaning in those data.<sup>27</sup>

The most interesting personal part of the review is also the conclusion, where Hume pays tributes to two dear friends among the Edinburgh clergy. Dr. William Robertson he mentions by name. Dr. Hugh Blair he alludes to in the final paragraph added on the proof sheets. Doubtless it was Hume's sincere praise of three clerical friends—Blair, Henry, and Robertson—that led Stuart to think him doting. Little could that malevolent genius suspect that it was entirely feasible for "the Great Infidel" to live on terms of cordial intimacy with the leading Moderates of the Church of Scotland. That "the old Historian" never doted, James Boswell could testify after that stunning last interview in the summer of 1776 when Hume lay dying. The powerful mind was in full vigor to the very end.

The review of Henry's *History of Great Britain* was among the last of Hume's original compositions other than revisions of earlier works, published or unpublished. As far as is now known and excepting the essay "Of the origin of government" of about the same time, the review was followed only by "Of the authenticity of Ossian's poems," written in the spring of 1775, and by "My own life," dated "18 of April 1776."<sup>28</sup>

<sup>27</sup> A full treatment of Hume's historiography in theory and in practice will be found in the writer's "An apology for David Hume, historian," *PMLA*, LVI (1941), 657-90. Cf. also his "Was Hume a Tory historian? Facts and reconsiderations," *Journal of the history of ideas*, II (1941), 225-36.

<sup>28</sup> The stories of "Hume and Boswell" and "Hume and the Scottish Homers" are recounted in the writer's forthcoming book, *The forgotten Hume, le bon David*.

*The History of Great Britain, from the first Invasion of it by the Romans under Julius Caesar. Written on a new Plan. By ROBERT HENRY, D.D. one of the Ministers of Edinburgh. Vol. 2. 4to. London, Cadell, Edinburgh. £1:1:0, in Boards.*<sup>29</sup>

Though the second volume of Dr Henry's history of Great Britain will not be published till the first or second week of January, as we are informed; yet, as many copies of it have been privately sold by the author, we cannot resist the inclination we have of communicating to the public the sentiments we entertain concerning that work in general; the perusing of performances of uncommon merit, and the recommending of them to the attention and particular favour of the world, being the most agreeable part of the office of Reviewers. We can venture, then, with the greatest sincerity, to recommend this volume to the perusal of every curious reader, who wishes to know the state of Great Britain in a period which has formerly been regarded as very obscure, viz. from the arrival of the Saxons in 449, to the landing of William Duke of Normandy in 1066. In those dark ages, this island produced few writers of history and these few were only obscure monks of little learning and less taste, whose works cannot be read without disgust. It is, indeed, wonderful what an instructive, and even entertaining book, Dr Henry has been able to compose from such unpromising materials! *Tantum series juncturaque pollet!* When we see those barbarous ages delineated by so able a pen, we admire the *oddness* of their manners, customs, and opinions, and are transported, as it were, into a new world.<sup>30</sup>

<sup>29</sup> The original proof sheets of Hume's review of Henry's *History of Great Britain*, corrected in his hand, and the above holograph letter of December 23, 1773, are now in the William Andrews Clark Memorial Library, Los Angeles. They are published here by permission of the library officials and of President Sproul of the University of California. They were brought to my attention through the kindness of Dr. E. N. Hooker of the department of English, University of California at Los Angeles.

As originally set up for inclusion in the January, 1774, issue of the *Edinburgh magazine and review*, the proofs were paginated from 177 to 186 as the first item in the "Review of new publications." Pp. 177 to 180 were then crossed to 141-44, ostensibly by the editor. The January review section actually begins on p. 141.

The present printing is not an exact copy of the proof sheets. In the effort to reproduce the equivalent of a perfect manuscript of Hume's, typographical errors are corrected; editorial changes made by Stuart are relegated to footnotes; Hume's stylistic revisions are also indicated in the notes. As it stands here, the review is as Hume wished to have it published when he returned it to Stuart on December 23, 1773, together with the letter of that date.

<sup>30</sup> The first quotation from Hume's article on Henry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* referred to in n. 25 is a variation of the above opening paragraph: "Those who profess a high esteem for the first volume of Dr Henry's history, I may venture to say, are almost as numerous as those who have perused it, provided they be competent judges of a work of that nature, and are acquainted with the difficulties which attend such an undertaking. Many of those who had been so well pleased with the first were impatient to see the second volume, which advances into a field more delicate and interesting; but the Doctor hath shewn the maturity of his judgment, as in all the rest, so particularly in giving no performance to the public that might appear crude or hasty, or composed before he had fully collected and digested the materials. I venture with great sincerity to recommend this

The first chapter contains the civil and military history of all the different nations inhabiting the island of Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons, A.D. 449, to the landing of William Duke of Normandy, A.D. 1066. It is evidently a most difficult task to form the civil and military transactions of so many nations into one perspicuous narration, through a period of more than six centuries. To accomplish this, Dr Henry hath employed several contrivances with the <sup>31</sup> greatest success. He hath divided this long period into five parts, each part constituting the subject of one particular section. Thus, the first section contains the civil and military history of all the British nations, from the arrival of the Saxons, to the full establishment of the heptarchy, A.D. 600. The second, from thence to the accession of Egbert the first English monarch, A.D. 801. The third, to the death of Alfred the Great, A.D. 901. The fourth, to the death of Edward the Martyr, A.D. 978. And the fifth to the end of the period, A.D. 1066. In each of these sections, the civil and military transactions of the Anglo-Saxons are first related, and then those of the ancient Britons, Scots, and Picts, as long as they continued to form a distinct nation. In the second section, which contains the history of the heptarchy, the transactions in all the other states are regulated by the chronology of the west Saxon kingdom. By this delicate and well fancied method, the thread of the narration is preserved unbroken, and some degree of unity and order introduced into a portion of the history of Great Britain, which has perplexed the acuteness of our most philosophical and accomplished historians.

The second chapter contains the history of religion in each of the British nations, from the beginning, to the end of this period, and is also divided into five sections, with the same beautiful propriety and advantage. The first of these sections contains a very curious account of the priests, imaginary deities, sacrifices, and religious rites of the Saxons and Danes, while they continued to be pagans. In the second section, the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to christianity is related, and a brief account is given of the instruments, the time, and manner of the establishment of that religion, in all the states of the heptarchy. In the other three sections, the ecclesiastical history of all the British nations is prosecuted to the end of this period. At the conclusion of each of these sections, is a brief delineation of the state of religion, and of the innovations which had been at that time introduced, of which the following<sup>32</sup>

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volume to the perusal of every curious reader who desires to know the state of Great Britain in a period which has hitherto been regarded as very obscure, ill supplied with writers, and not possessed of a single one that deserves the appellation of a good one. It is wonderful what an instructive, and even entertaining, book the Doctor has been able to compose from such unpromising materials: *Tantum series juncturaque pollet*. When we see those barbarous ages delineated by so able a pen, we admire the oddness and singularity of the manners, customs, and opinions, of the times, and seem to be introduced into a new world; but we are still more surprised, as well as interested, when we reflect that those strange personages were the ancestors of the present inhabitants of this island."

<sup>31</sup> "Very" deleted.

<sup>32</sup> "Very" deleted.



instructive passage, at the end of the third section of this chapter, may serve as a proper specimen. "Ignorance and superstition increased greatly in the church of England, as well as in other parts of the Christian world, in the course of the eighth century. Pilgrimages to Rome became far more frequent, and were attended with worse effects than formerly;—the rage of retiring into monasteries became more violent in persons of all ranks, to the ruin of military discipline, and of every useful art;—the clergy became more knavish and rapacious, and the laity more abject and stupid, than in any former period. Of this the trade of relics, which can never be carried on but between knaves and fools, is a sufficient evidence. The number of holidays, and of childish and trifling ceremonies, which are equally pernicious to honest industry and rational religion, were very much increased in the course of this dark age. As the Britons, Scots, and Piets had little or no intercourse with Rome in this period, it is probable, that superstition had not made such rapid progress amongst them as amongst the English. But we know so little of the ecclesiastical history of these three nations in this century, that we can produce nothing of certainty and importance on that subject, unless the conversion of the Scots and Piets to the Roman rule in celebrating Easter, which happened in this century, can be called important."

The third chapter of this book will be esteemed by many readers the most curious, important, and interesting part of the whole work. It contains the history of the constitution, government, and laws of Great Britain, from the arrival of the Saxons to the Norman conquest. It is divided into three sections: The first contains a brief account of the several German nations which settled in Britain during this period; of the places of their original seats on the continent; of the situation and limits of their settlements in the island; of the political divisions of their territories that were made by them and by the other British nations. The observations on the state of population in the Anglo-Saxon times, at the end of this section, are exceedingly ingenious, and might have proceeded from the most experienced politician. The second section of this chapter contains a very particular description of the different ranks of the people; and of the courts of justice in the Anglo-Saxon times. The ranks of the people described in this section, are these five; Slaves, Frelazins, Ceorls, Thaness, and Clitones. The ranks of magistrates described are also five; viz. Borsholders, Hundredaries, Sheregeruves, Aldermen, and Cyrings. But the courts are only four, viz. the Decennary court, the Hundred court, the Shiregemote, and the Wittenagemote. Many of our readers will be agreeably delighted with the curious description of the great officers in the courts of the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh kings, at the end of this section. The subject of the third section of this chapter is, the history of laws in this period, particularly of the Anglo-Saxon and Welsh laws. This section is instructive and learned in the<sup>33</sup> highest degree. It contains much original remark, and,

<sup>33</sup> "Very" deleted.

in particular, a very distinct description of all the different Ordeals used in England in the period under observation.

The fourth chapter of this volume contains the history of learning. "It will be necessary, (says the author), to prevent confusion in this period, which is long as well as dark, to divide it into the several centuries of which it consisted, giving a concise account of the state of learning; of the most learned men; and of the chief seminaries of learning, in each of these centuries, in their natural order." This, we think, he hath executed in a very masterly manner; and produced a more satisfactory and entertaining account of the state of learning, in those dark ages, than could have been expected. Who, for example, could have expected so authentic and distinct an account of the sciences studied in England in the seventh century, as is contained in the following letter from Aldhelm, a student in the academy of Canterbury, to Hedda bishop of Winchester:—"I confess, Most Reverend Father, that I had resolved, if circumstances would permit, to spend the approaching Christmas in the company of my relations, and to enjoy, for some time, the felicity of your conversation. But, since I now find that it will be impossible for me to accomplish that design, for various reasons, which the bearer of this letter will communicate, I hope you will have the goodness to excuse my not waiting upon you as I intended. The truth is, that there is a necessity for spending a great deal of time in this seat of learning, especially for one who is inflamed with the love of reading, and is earnestly desirous, as I am, of being intimately acquainted with all the secrets of the Roman jurisprudence. Besides, there is another study in which I am engaged, which is still more tedious and perplexing,—to make myself master of all the rules of a hundred different kinds of verses, and of the musical modulations of words and syllables. This study is rendered more difficult, and almost inextricable, by the great scarcity of able teachers. But it would far exceed the bounds of a familiar letter to explain this matter fully, and lay open all the secrets of the art of metre, concerning letters, syllables, poetic feet and figures, verses, tones, time, &c. Add to this the doctrine of the seven divisions of poetry, with all their variations, and what number of feet every different kind of verse must consist of. The perfect knowledge of all this, and several other things of the like kind, cannot, I imagine, be acquired in a short space of time. But what shall I say of arithmetic, whose long and intricate calculations are sufficient to overwhelm the mind, and throw it into despair? For my own part, all the labour of my former studies, by which I had made myself a complete master of several sciences, was trifling, in comparison of what this cost me; so that I may say with St Jerome, upon a similar occasion,—Before I entered upon that study, I thought myself a master; but then I found I was but a learner.—However, by the blessing of God, and assiduous reading, I have at length overcome the greatest difficulties, and found out the method of calculating suppositions, which are called the parts of a number. I believe it will be better to say noth-

ing at all of astronomy, the zodiac, and its twelve signs revolving in the heavens, which require a long illustration, than to disgrace that noble art by too short and imperfect an account; especially as there are some parts of it, as astrology, and the perplexing calculation of horoscopes, which require the hand of a master to do them justice." p. 320. 321.

Aldhelm Bishop of Shereburn, Venerable Beda, Alcuinus preceptor to Charlemagne, Alfred the Great, and John Scot of Air, appear, from the accounts here given of their genius and erudition, to have been the most illustrious luminaries of Britain, and even of Europe, in the times in which they flourished. How ardent a love of learning is expressed in the following letter of Alcuinus to his royal friend and pupil Charlemagne:—"The contemplation, O most excellent Prince! of that pure and virtuous friendship with which you honour me, fills my mind at all times with the abundant comfort; and I cherish in my heart, as its most precious treasure, the remembrance of your goodness, and the image of that benign and gracious countenance with which you entertain your friends. In my retirement, it is the greatest joy of my life to hear of your prosperity; and therefore I have sent this young gentleman to bring me an exact account of your affairs, that I may have reason to sing the loudest praises to my Lord Jesus Christ for your felicity. But why do I say that I may have reason?—the whole Christian world hath reason to praise Almighty God, with one voice, that he hath raised up so pious, wise, and just a prince, to govern and protect it in these most dangerous times; a prince who makes it the whole joy of his heart, and business of his life, to suppress every thing that is evil, and promote every that is good; to advance the glory of God, and spread the knowledge of the Christian religion into the most distant corners of the world.

"Persevere, O most dear and amiable prince, in your most honourable course, in making the improvement of your subjects in knowledge, virtue, and happiness, the great object of your pursuit; for this shall redound to your glory and your felicity in the great day of the Lord, and in the eternal society of his saints. Such noble designs and glorious efforts, you may depend upon it, shall not go unrewarded; for though the life of man is short, the goodness of God is infinite, and he will recompense our momentary toils with joys which shall never end. How precious then is time! and how careful should we be, that we do not lose by our indolence, those immortal felicities which we may obtain by the active virtues of a good life!

"The employments of your Alcuinus in his retreat are suited to his humble sphere; but they are neither inglorious nor unprofitable. I spend my time in the halls of St Martin, in teaching some of the noble youths under my care the intricacies of grammar, and inspiring them with a taste for the learning of the ancients; in describing to others the order and revolutions of those shining orbs which adorn the azure vault of heaven; and in explaining to others the mysteries of divine wisdom, which are contained in the holy scriptures; suiting my instructions to the views and capacities of my scholars, that I may train

up many to be ornaments to the church of God, and to the court of your Imperial Majesty. In doing this I find a great want of several things, particularly of those excellent books in all arts and sciences which I enjoyed in my native country, through the expence and care of my great master Egbert. May it therefore please your Majesty, animated with the most ardent love of learning, to permit me to send some of our young gentlemen into England, to procure for us those books which we want, and transplant the flowers of Britain into France, that their fragrance may no longer be confined to York, but may perfume the palaces of Tours.

"I need not put your Majesty in mind, how earnestly we are exhorted in the holy scriptures to the pursuit of wisdom; than which nothing is more conducive to a pleasant, happy, and honourable life; nothing a greater preservative from vice; nothing more becoming or more necessary to those especially who have the administration of public affairs, and the government of empires. Learning and wisdom exalt the low, and give additional lustre to the honours of the great. *By wisdom kings reign, and princes decree justice.* Cease not then, O most Gracious King! to press the young nobility of your court to the eager pursuit of wisdom and learning in their youth, that they may attain to an honourable old age, and a blessed immortality. For my own part, I will never cease, according to my abilities, to sow the seeds of learning in the minds of your subjects in these parts; mindful of the saying of the wisest man, *In the morning sow thy seed, and in the evening withhold not thine hand; for thou knowest not whether shall prosper, either this or that.* To do this hath been the most delightful employment of my whole life. In my youthful years, I sowed the seeds of learning in the flourishing seminaries of my native soil<sup>24</sup> of Britain, and in my old age I am doing the same in France; praying to God, that they may spring up and flourish in both countries. I know also, O prince beloved of God, and praised by all good men! that you exert all your influence in promoting the interests of learning and religion; more noble in your actions than in your royal birth. May the Lord Jesus Christ preserve and prosper you in all your great designs, and at length bring you to the enjoyment of celestial glory." (p. 336, &c.)—The exclamation of our learned historian on this admirable letter, ought to be written on capitals of gold. "How few princes, cries he, enjoy the happiness of such a correspondence, or have the wisdom and virtue to encourage it?"

The fifth chapter of this volume contains the history of the arts, both necessary and ornamental. The necessary arts delineated in this chapter are such as are required for procuring food, as hunting, fishing, pasturage, husbandry, and gardening; for providing lodging, as architecture, masonry, glass-making, and the arts of working in wood and metals; for making garments, as the arts of spinning, weaving, dying, and embroidery; for defence against, and annoying of enemies, as the various arts of war and of fortifying, and attacking strong places. The state of all these arts is delineated in a more par-

<sup>24</sup> "Soul" on proof sheet.

ticular and satisfactory manner than could have been expected, from the few monuments of those times which are now remaining. The fine or ornamental arts, which are illustrated in this chapter, are those of sculpture, painting, poetry, and music, the two last of which appear to have been cultivated with much assiduity, and no contemptible success.

The history of commerce, shipping, and coin is the subject of the sixth chapter; a subject of infinite moment to a trading nation. Nor was there any part of this very valuable volume before us, that gave us greater pleasure in the perusal than the naval history of Alfred the Great; but for this, we must refer our readers to the book itself, as it is much too long to be transcribed. The efforts of this admirable prince, to promote trade, to raise a naval power, and to make discoveries, both towards the north and south, are truly astonishing. The account which is given of the money and coins of the Anglo-Saxons in this chapter is at once clear, concise, and comprehensive; and the result of the whole is formed into the following table.

*Table of the Names of the Anglo-Saxon denominations of Money, and of real Coins; with the weight of each of them in Troy grains, and value in the present money of Great Britain.*

| Names.                       | Troy Grains. | Present Value. |    |    |       |
|------------------------------|--------------|----------------|----|----|-------|
|                              |              | £.             | s. | d. | q.    |
| The pound.....               | 5,400        | 2              | 16 | 3  |       |
| The mark.....                | 3,600        | 1              | 17 | 9  |       |
| The mancus of gold.....      | 56           |                | 7  | 0  | 1     |
| The mancus of silver.....    | 675          |                | 7  | 0  | 1     |
| The ora.....                 | 450          |                | 4  | 8  | 1     |
| The greater shilling.....    | 112 1/2      |                | 1  | 2  |       |
| The smaller shilling.....    | 90           |                |    | 11 | 1     |
| The thrimsa.....             | 67 1/2       |                |    | 8  | 2     |
| The penny and sceata.....    | 22 1/2       |                |    | 2  | 3     |
| The halfing.....             | 11           |                |    | 1  | 1 1/2 |
| The feorthling.....          | 5 1/2        |                |    |    | 3     |
| The styca, a brass coin..... |              |                |    |    | 1 1/2 |

The seventh and last chapter of this volume will afford singular satisfaction in the perusal, to a reader of taste and curiosity; but our limits will not now allow us so much as to name the many subjects which are introduced in delineating the manners, virtues, vices, remarkable customs, language, dress, diet, and diversions, of the people of Great Britain, and particularly of the Anglo-Saxons, in those remote ages. The following account of the extreme credulity of the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, may serve as a specimen.—“Both the Anglo-Saxons and Danes, and all the other nations of Europe in this dark period, were credulous to a degree that is quite astonishing. This is evident from every remaining monument of their history. What prodigious numbers of miracles do we meet with in every monkish chronicle; and how ridiculous are many of these miracles? The following one, which is related with much

solemnity as a most unquestionable fact, b. William of Malmsbury, the most sensible of our ancient historians, may serve as a specimen of these monkish miracles, though others still more ridiculous might be produced. This miracle Malmsbury relates in the following manner, in the very words, as he says, of one of the persons on whom it was wrought. I Ethelbert, a sinner, will give a true relation of what happened to me on the day before Christmas, A.D. 1012, in a certain village where there was a church dedicated to St Magnus the Martyr, that all men may know the danger of disobeying the commands of a priest. Fifteen young women, and eighteen young men, of which I was one, were dancing and singing in the church-yard, when one Robert, a priest, was performing mass in the church; who sent us a civil message, intreating us to desist from our diversion, because we disturbed his devotion by our noise. But we impiously disregarded his request; upon which the holy man, inflamed with anger, prayed to God and St Magnus, that we might continue dancing and singing a whole year without intermission. His prayers were heard. A young man, the son of a priest, named John, took his sister, who was singing with us, by the hand, and her arm dropped from her body without one drop of blood following. But notwithstanding this disaster, she continued to dance and sing with us a whole year. During all that time we felt no inconveniency from rain, cold, heat, hunger, thirst, or weariness, and neither our shoes nor our clothes wore out. Whenever it began to rain, a magnificent house was erected over us by the power of the Almighty. By our continual dancing we wore the earth so much, that by degrees we sunk into it up to the knees, and at length up to the middle. When the year was ended, Bishop Hubert came to the place, dissolved the invisible ties by which our hands had been so long united, absolved us, and reconciled us to St Magnus. The priest's daughter who had lost her arm, and two of the young women, died away immediately; but all the rest fell into a profound sleep, in which they continued three days and three nights; after which they arose, and went up and down the world, publishing this true and glorious miracle, and carrying the evidences of its truth along with them, in the continual shaking of their limbs."

The object of an antiquary has been commonly distinguished from that of an historian: For though the latter should enter into the province of the former, it is thought that it should only be *quanto basta*, that is, as far as is necessary and entertaining, without comprehending all the minute disquisitions, which give such supreme pleasure to the mere antiquary. Our learned and<sup>85</sup> penetrating author has fully reconciled these two characters. His narration is as full as those remote times seem to demand; and at the same time, his inquiries of the antiquarian kind, which form four fifths of his work, omit nothing which can be an object, either of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing: All superfluous embellishments are avoided: And the reader will scarcely find in our language, except in the

<sup>85</sup> "Truly" deleted.

work of the celebrated Dr Robertson,<sup>36</sup> any performance that unites together so perfectly the great points of entertainment and instruction!<sup>37</sup> It is happy for the inhabitants of this metropolis, which has naturally a great influence on the country, that the same persons, who can make such a figure in profane learning, are entrusted with the guidance of the people in their spiritual concerns, which are of such superior, and indeed of unspeakable importance! These illustrious examples, if any thing,<sup>38</sup> must make the infidel abashed of his vain cavils, and put a stop to that torrent of vice, profaneness, and immorality, by which the age is so unhappily distinguished.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>40</sup> This City can justly boast of other signal Characters of the same kind; whom Learning and Piety, Taste and Devotion, Philosophy and Faith, joined to the severest Morals and most irreproachable Conduct, concur to embellish. One in particular, with the same hand, by which he turns over the sublime Pages of Homer and Virgil, Demosthenes and Cicero, is not ashamed to open with Reverence the sacred Volumes: And with the same Voice by which, from the Pulpit, he strikes Vice with Consternation, he deigns to dictate to his Pupils the most useful Lessons of Rhetoric, Poetry and polite<sup>41</sup> Literature.

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<sup>36</sup> Crossed from "MacQueen" to "Robertson."

<sup>37</sup> The second quotation from Hume in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* is slightly changed from the above. "The object of an antiquary hath been commonly distinguished from that of an historian; for though the latter should enter into the province of the former, it is thought that it should only be *quanto basta*, that is, so far as is necessary, without comprehending all the minute disquisitions which gave such supreme pleasure to the mere antiquary. Our learned author hath fully reconciled these two characters. His historical narrative is as full as those remote times seem to demand, and at the same time his inquiries of the antiquarian kind omit nothing which can be an object of doubt or curiosity. The one as well as the other is delivered with great perspicuity, and no less propriety, which are the true ornaments of this kind of writing. All superfluous embellishments are avoided; and the reader will hardly find in our language any performance that unites together so perfectly the two great points of entertainment and instruction."

<sup>38</sup> "Can do" deleted.

<sup>39</sup> The following paragraph, the *reductio ad absurdum* insertion of Stuart, was deleted by Hume: "In a future number of this Review, we may possibly take a further opportunity of doing justice to the merits of the most accomplished historian, who, in any age or nation, has treated the affairs of Men! an historian! who has united with the most admirable skill, the precision of the Bishop of Sarum, and the vivacity of Voltaire, the happy solemnity of Lord Clarendon, and the deep sagacity of father Paul!"

<sup>40</sup> This last paragraph was inserted by Hume on the proof sheets to fill up the space of the deleted Stuart paragraph of n. 39. J. H. Burton in the *Life and correspondence of David Hume* ([Edinburgh, 1846], II, 470) quotes the close of the review beginning with "the reader will scarcely find in our language." Burton apparently used the corrected copy now in the Clark Memorial Library, then, he avers, in the possession of one John Christison, Esq. Burton's version differs from the above only in spelling, capitalization, and punctuation, points on which he is always unreliable.

<sup>41</sup> Crossed from "profane" to "polite."

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# VICTORIAN BIBLIOGRAPHY FOR 1941

*Edited by* WILLIAM D. TEMPLEMAN

**T**HIS bibliography has been prepared by a committee of the Victorian Literature Group of the Modern Language Association of America: William D. Templeman, chairman, University of Illinois; Charles Frederick Harrold, Michigan State Normal College; Samuel P. Chew, University of Oklahoma; and Austin Wright, Carnegie Institute of Technology. It attempts to list the noteworthy publications of 1941 (including reviews of earlier items) that have a bearing on English literature of the Victorian period and similar publications of earlier date that have been inadvertently omitted from the preceding Victorian bibliography. Unless otherwise stated, the date of publication is 1941. Reference to a page in the bibliography for 1940, in *Modern philology*, May, 1941, is made by the following form: See VB 1940, 443. Some cross-references are given, although not all that are possible.

## KEY TO ABBREVIATIONS

|                 |  |             |   |
|-----------------|--|-------------|---|
| <i>A</i>        | = <i>Anglia</i>                                      | <i>HTB</i>  | = <i>New York Herald-Tribune</i>                                  |
| <i>AHR</i>      | = <i>American historical review</i>                  |             | <i>books</i>  |
| <i>AL</i>       | = <i>American literature</i>                         | <i>JAA</i>  | = <i>Journal of aesthetics and art criticism</i>                  |
| <i>Archiv</i>   | = <i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen</i> | <i>JEGP</i> | = <i>Journal of English and Germanic philology</i>                |
| <i>BBDI</i>     | = <i>Bull. of bibliog. and dramatic index</i>        | <i>JMH</i>  | = <i>Journal of modern history</i>                                |
| <i>Beiblatt</i> | = <i>Beiblatt zur Anglia</i>                         | <i>JP</i>   | = <i>Journal of philosophy</i>                                    |
| <i>CE</i>       | = <i>College English</i>                             | <i>JPE</i>  | = <i>Journal of political economy</i>                             |
| <i>CR</i>       | = <i>Contemporary review</i>                         | <i>JR</i>   | = <i>Journal of religion</i>                                      |
| <i>CWd</i>      | = <i>Catholic world</i>                              | <i>LAR</i>  | = <i>Library Association record</i>                               |
| <i>DLtz</i>     | = <i>Deutsche Literaturzeitung</i>                   | <i>LgrP</i> | = <i>Literaturblatt für germanische und romanische Philologie</i> |
| <i>EHR</i>      | = <i>English historical review</i>                   |             |   |
| <i>ELH</i>      | = <i>Journal of English literary history</i>         | <i>LJ</i>   | = <i>Library journal</i>  |
| <i>ES</i>       | = <i>Englische Studien</i>                           | <i>LL</i>   | = <i>Life and letters today</i>                                   |
| <i>Est</i>      | = <i>English studies</i>                             | <i>LQ</i>   | = <i>Library quarterly</i>  |
| <i>ELA</i>      | = <i>Etudes anglaises</i>                            | <i>LQHR</i> | = <i>London quarterly and Holborn review</i>                      |
| <i>FR</i>       | = <i>Fortnightly review</i>                          | <i>LR</i>   | = <i>Library review</i>   |
| <i>HLQ</i>      | = <i>Huntington Library quarterly</i>                |             |   |

|       |  |      |  |
|-------|--|------|--|
| LZD   | = Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland | QQ   | = Queen's quarterly                          |
| MLN   | = Modern language notes                      | QR   | = Quarterly review                           |
| MLR   | = Modern language review                     | RES  | = Review of English studies                  |
| MP    | = Modern philology                           | RLC  | = Revue de littérature comparée              |
| M & L | = Music and letters                          | RoR  | = Romanic review                             |
| N     | = Nation                                     | S    | = Spectator                                  |
| NC    | = Nineteenth century and after               | SAQ  | = South Atlantic quarterly                   |
| NEQ   | = New England quarterly                      | SeR  | = Sewanee review                             |
| New R | = New republic                               | SouR | = Southern review                            |
| NR    | = National review                            | SP   | = Studies in philology                       |
| NS    | = New statesman and nation                   | SRL  | = Saturday review of literature              |
| NYTBR | = New York Times book review                 | TLS  | = Times literary supplement                  |
| N & Q | = Notes and queries                          | TQ   | = Univ. of Toronto quarterly                 |
| PMLA  | = Pubs. Mod. Lang. Assoc. of Amer.           | VQR  | = Virginia quarterly review                  |
| PQ    | = Philological quarterly                     | YR   | = Yale review                                |
| PSQ   | = Political science quarterly                | ZNU  | = Zeitschrift für neusprachlichen Unterricht |
| QJS   | = Quarterly journal of speech                |      |  |

## I. BIBLIOGRAPHICAL MATERIAL

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Bevington, Merle Mowbray. *The Saturday review, 1855-1868: representative educated opinion in Victorian England*. ("Columbia university studies in English and comparative literature," No. 154.) New York: Columbia univ. pr. Pp. x+415.

Uses a famous and important weekly newspaper as a source and a subject for literary and intellectual history. The book deals chiefly with the years 1855-68, the period of its first editor, John Douglas Cook. The author's reasons are that selection and adequate consideration within a single volume could not be given for a longer period and, especially, that "by 1868 the *Saturday review* had attained its distinctive form and its maximum influence"—from then on its course is one of continuation and decline. The last chapter rapidly traces the magazine through the years until it ceased publication, in 1938. Mr. Bevington considers in this book the writers in the *Saturday review* as commentators on and critics of English civilization. His chapters deal with (1) the circumstances of periodical publications, especially the daily and weekly papers, (2) politics, (3) religion, (4) morals and society, (5) the prophets, (6) novels and light literature, (7) poetry, (8) general literature, (9) foreign literature, (10) science, (11) the arts. An appendix on pp. 331-91 presents an account of writers for the *Saturday review* and their contributions; an account is also given of writers for the *Review* to whom Mr. Bevington can make no definite ascriptions. The names appear, in the appendix, of James Fitzjames Stephen, Bagehot, Brodrick, George Butler, R. W. Church, George Eliot, E. A. Freeman, Froude, Galton, Garnett, Grant Duff, J. R. Green, Huxley, Kingsley, Lewes, Linton, Morley, Palgrave, Patmore, Sandars, Leslie Stephen, Venables, etc. A great number of notable Victorians are treated in the book. The bibliography and the index cover pp. 393-415.

An important presentation of mid-Victorian life, well documented, and written with a cool breadth of view, yet with a lively and sincere interest. Literature receives the fullest consideration, and students of the Victorian period in European letters, especially English, will find this book valuable. The *Saturday review* is representative of the intellects, activities, and standards of those who were mostly well-to-do; representative of a minority, but nevertheless representative of an extremely important city class—that class in the English population that, as the *Saturday review* itself states, "fairly represents the wealth, the education, and the governing power concentrated in the metropolis." Mr.

Bevington has done excellently well in writing a history of 1855-68, as that fascinating period is indicated through the pages of a great and powerful weekly review.—W. D. T.

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**Praed**. Note on *Etoniana*. *N & Q*, Dec. 20, p. 337.

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**Rossetti**. *Dante Gabriel Rossetti's letters to Fanny Cornworth*. Ed. Paull Franklin Baum. See VB 1940, 458.

Rev. by J. Troxell in *MLN*, LVI, 399-400.

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**Russell**. Byrne, J. Patrick. "A. E., poet and man." *Poet lore*, XLVII, 240-49.

**Shaw**. Smith, Winifred. "Bernard Shaw and his critics (1892-1938)." *Poet lore*, XLVII, 76-83.

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Rev. by G. Hellman in *HTB*, July 13, p. 12; by J. J. R. in *CWd*, CLIII, 756; by R. Roberts in *SRL*, May 31, p. 16; by C. Sanders in *SAQ*, XI, 306-8; in *CE*, III, 322. Includes between two and three hundred unpublished letters from Sterling to J. S. Mill, Carlyle, Francis Newman, J. A. Symonds, and others.

**Stevenson**. Hughes, T. Cann. "R. L. Stevenson—prize medal." *N & Q*, Sept. 13, p. 146.

Query about medal given Stevenson in 1871 for paper read before the Royal Scottish Society of Arts.

Moorman, Lewis J. *Tuberculosis and genius*. Chicago: Univ. of Chicago pr., 1940. Pp. xxxv+272.

Curious alliance between fever and art illuminated by the dramatic stories of Stevenson, Thompson, and others; told by a physician.

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**Taylor, John** (see **Darley**).

**Taylor, Meadows**. Pritchett, V. S. "Books in general." *NS*, Nov. 8, p. 411. Praises *The confessions of a thug*.

**Tennyson** (see also III, *A book of short plays*; III, Hull). *Tennyson: representative poems*. Selected and ed. by Samuel C. Chew. ("Odyssey series in literature.") New York: Odyssey pr. Pp. lvi+520.

The introduction (pp. xi-xlii) presents chronologically arranged statements of fact, interpretation, and criticism of Tennyson's poetry; is biographical "only so far as a record of Tennyson's life serves to explain his growth as a poet." Mr. Chew has provided an excellent selected bibliography on pp. xlv-lvi, with useful critical comments. The poems that constitute the main part of this book are put into eight groups: I. "The poet and his land"; II. "Songs"; III. "The poet and his art"; IV. "Poems on classical subjects"; V. "Poems on medieval subjects"; VI. "'Maud' and miscellaneous poems"; VII. "'In memoriam' and other elegies"; VIII. "Personal and meditative poems." This grouping is highly arbitrary. It tends, moreover, to convey an impression of periodicity of separate interests. Such an impression is unfortunate; the continuity and overlapping of Tennyson's interests ought not to be put into a shadow. The editor's footnote annotations are good. But in selection and arrangement and annotation of poems this book does not supersede the DeVaness' *Selections from Tennyson*. There is valuable inclusion, in the three appendixes of this book, of juvenilia, poems of literary squabbles, and poems by Alfred's brothers, Frederick and Charles.—W. D. T.

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Ratchford, Fannie E. "Idylls of the hearth: Wise's forgery of *Enoch Arden*." *Southwest rev.*, XXVI, 317-25.

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**Thackeray** (see also III, Sells). Albaugh, Kathryn L. "The influence of William Makepeace Thackeray on Wilhelm Raabe." In *Abstracts of diss.*, Stanford univ., XVI, 98-101.

Dodds, John Wendell. *Thackeray: a critical portrait*. New York: Oxford univ. pr. Pp. vii+257.

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Hurst, H. *Ironischer und sentimentaler Realismus bei Thackeray*. See VB 1939, 417.

Rev. by E. Vowinkel in *LgrP*, LXII, 101-2.



Pacey, W. C. D. "Balzac and Thackeray." *MLR*, XXXVI, 213-24.

Pritchett, V. S. "Books in general." *NS*, March 22, p. 302.

Re-evaluation of Thackeray, with emphasis on *Vanity Fair* and its Balzac-like picture of a materialistic society.

Troubridge, St. Vincent. "Thackeray's drawings." *N & Q*, April 12, p. 269.

See Ardagh, J., in VB 1940, 460.

**Thompson.** *Poems of Francis Thompson, 1859-1907*. Revised ed. Ed. with biographical and textual notes by Terence L. Connolly. New York: D. Appleton-Century. Pp. xxiv+5-587.

**Trelawny.** Armstrong, Margaret. *Trelawny*. See VB 1940, 460.

Rev. by O. Williams in *NR*, CXVII, 457-63.

Athoe, G. B. J. "Trelawny's cottage." *TLS*, Aug. 2, p. 371.

Supplementary to Armstrong's book. See also the information from C. Rodney on Aug. 16, p. 397.

**Trollope.** *The way we live now* ("World's classics," Nos. 484 and 485). Oxford univ. pr.

Trollope, Anthony. *Tireless traveller; twenty letters to the "Liverpool mercury," 1875*. Ed., with introd., by Bradford Allen Booth, Univ. of California; Cambridge univ. pr. Pp. xi+221.

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Ignoramus and Russell Claud. "Nineteenth century calumnies." *N & Q*, March 1, p. 154; March 29, p. 229.

Concerning a passage in Trollope's *The way we live now*.

Parker, W. M. "The telegraph girl." *TLS*, Oct. 26, 1940, p. 548.

A letter from Trollope.

Wildman, John H. *Anthony Trollope's England*. See VB 1940, 461.

Rev. by I. Westcott in *MLR*, XXXVI, 539-40.

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Wordsworth. Havens, Raymond Dexter. *The mind of a poet: a study of Wordsworth's thought with particular reference to "The prelude."* Baltimore: Johns Hopkins pr. Pp. xviii+670.

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Yeats is among the eight.

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## REVIEW ARTICLE

### BOSWELL AND MRS. PIOZZI

EVER since Mrs. Piozzi's manuscripts began to be dispersed, about forty years ago, it has been increasingly apparent that she was Boswell's competitor not only as a biographer of Johnson but also as a tireless scribbler of autobiography. Were all her extant journals, diaries, notebooks, and commonplace-books (listed as Appendix C in Mr. Clifford's biography)<sup>1</sup> to be published, she would be revealed almost as intimately as Boswell and Pepys and the other great diarists. The trouble is that most of her autobiographical remains are compounded of so many disparate elements—anecdotes, reflections, domestic happenings, reminiscences—that the task of reducing them to an orderly and readable form appears almost superhuman. We are promised in the near future, however, a complete printing of the six volumes (over sixteen hundred pages) of "Thraliana," under the editorship of Miss Katharine C. Balderston. This vast collection of whatever struck her at the time (to use her own phrase), together with Mr. Clifford's admirably full and factual account of her life, will possibly give to the world all it will ever want to know about her.

Besides the manuscripts mentioned above, Mr. Clifford (in his Appendix D) lists nearly three thousand surviving letters from Mrs. Piozzi. The advantages and disadvantages to her biographer of such a wealth of widely scattered source material are obvious. Mr. Clifford has accepted the challenge, and it is unlikely that his work will need to be done again. Every Johnsonian on both sides of the Atlantic must be aware of the single-minded devotion with which the author has pursued his subject during the last six or eight years. He has, in fact, run half over England and America in tracking down Piozzi manuscripts and "association" materials.<sup>2</sup> His pilgrimage has led him to Edinburgh, Manchester, Ashbourne, Oxford, and various places in Wales; and he has crossed our own continent to get to San Marino in California. His modesty has not permitted him to chronicle his adventures here, but they would doubtless make an interesting book in themselves.

In order to convey a firsthand impression of Mrs. Piozzi's personality as well as to present a record of the facts of her career, Mr. Clifford has wisely

<sup>1</sup> *Hester Lynch Piozzi (Mrs. Thrale)*. By James L. Clifford. Oxford: At the Clarendon Press, 1941. Pp. xix + 492.

<sup>2</sup> As an example of the latter and also of the odd byways into which he has been willing to venture, consider p. 188, n. 5, where we learn that, upon discovering some musical compositions by Gabriel Piozzi in the British Museum, Mr. Clifford caused them to be rotographed and heard them performed.

chosen to let her speak for herself wherever possible, either in direct quotation or in paraphrase. Other witnesses to her character (and they are many) tend to support one's conviction that she has presented herself pretty accurately and judged herself shrewdly. When all the evidence is examined, what sort of person emerges? Mr. Clifford sums her up as "a bundle of contradictions. . . . At one moment apparently self-centred and brazen, and the next unselfish and considerate; on occasion grasping and penurious, and then with sentimental generosity capable of giving away almost all she had; at time a fretful wife and mother, but seldom shirking disagreeable tasks" (p. 459). Almost anyone, however, of average mental and moral stature would exhibit similar contradictions when viewed as closely as it is possible to view Mrs. Piozzi. As Mr. Clifford says, "It is just this human unaccountability which is her most engaging quality" (*ibid.*).

On the intellectual side, Boswell's "lively" still seems the best word to describe her talents. Certainly her published writings are not overburdened with either learning or worldly wisdom. Though Mr. Clifford's handling of her publications is a bit pedestrian in that he devotes approximately equal space to all of them and in each case quotes favorable and unfavorable passages from the reviews, he has collected the facts in a readable form. Only her Johnsonian publications are of permanent value. Mr. Clifford is disposed to find stimulation in her *Observations and reflections made in the course of a journey* (never reprinted as a whole); but her prattling prose, tripping from anecdote to allusion and again to anecdote, speedily becomes wearisome. Though her Johnsonian books contain important material, as editor of her own letters and Johnson's she has never been and never will be highly commended. True, editorial standards were not then what they are now; but to defend her, as Mr. Clifford does, with the statement that her tampering was not so serious as that of Mason or Lockhart is to assert that she was not black but only dark gray. In spite of Boswell's strong prejudice against Mrs. Piozzi, he committed no such editorial sin against her, in the *Life of Johnson*, as she herself committed when she deliberately suppressed a certain paragraph, in one of Johnson's letters to her, which at the same time showed Johnson's high regard for Boswell and gave evidence that she was in the wrong in the famous quarrel over Mrs. Montagu's *Essay on Shakespeare*. But the whole question of Boswell's relations with Mrs. Piozzi, as treated by Mr. Clifford, deserves fuller consideration.

By a few direct statements and a good deal of insinuation Mr. Clifford strives to create the impression that Boswell deliberately falsified his materials so as to prejudice readers of his *Life of Johnson* against Mrs. Piozzi. Specifically, he charges him with having suppressed flattering remarks made by Johnson about Mrs. Piozzi or of having modified them so as to make their total effect unflattering. In order to give this charge plausibility, he presents evidence with

intent to prove that deliberate as well as unintentional misstatements of fact can be found in parts of Boswell's book not dealing with Mrs. Piozzi. Finally, he offers the suggestion that Boswell's reiterated charges of inaccuracy against Mrs. Piozzi and Sir John Hawkins were a defensive tactic to divert too close scrutiny from his own work (pp. 355-59). It is possible that Mr. Clifford would not subscribe without reservation to this bald statement of his charges. His intent was not so much to convict Boswell (against whom he seems to have no special animus) as to make a case for Mrs. Piozzi. We believe, however, that we have stated fairly the impression that any candid reader will carry away from a reading of his book.

At the start we wish to state clearly the nature of our dissent. We do not maintain that Boswell is unbiased in his portrait of Mrs. Piozzi. We are not at this point concerned with the judiciousness of the comment which he presents as *his own*. Our contention is that, if he is biased, he is biased as a good historian may permit himself to be: that is, he allows himself unfavorable interpretation and comment, but he never tampers with historical fact.

It is precisely because of Boswell's high reputation for historical accuracy that the charges must be considered a serious matter for research scholars in general. For a long time now they have considered him a trustworthy historical source, an author who presents the history of a period with a fulness of circumstantial detail and a degree of factual accuracy unparalleled among biographers. If what Mr. Clifford says is true, we must deny Boswell any right to special trustworthiness and subject all his statements to skeptical scrutiny, especially where we suspect personal bias.

If Mr. Clifford had presented his evidence at length, there would be no need of special refutation: the reader could evaluate it and judge for himself. But the evidence is not fully presented. Mr. Clifford had a great deal of matter to encompass, and, to keep his book within bounds, he had to reduce the majority of his citations to mere footnote references. The chief task of this scrutiny, therefore, will be to print his supporting evidence *in extenso*.

First, consider the charge that Boswell consistently and deliberately reported Johnson's conversation so as to misrepresent his partiality for Mrs. Piozzi. "In his portrayal of this situation," says Mr. Clifford, "Boswell represents Johnson as occasionally heaping high praise on his hostess, but Boswell only selected remarks followed by some qualification. . . . While usually he did not greatly change Johnson's actual statements, Boswell did sometimes show his bias in the manner of presenting them. . . . For this reason in the preceding pages, as far as possible, only remarks found in Boswell's original notes have been quoted" (pp. 356-57). The clear implication is that in the matter of compliments there is a great difference between the "original notes" (i.e., Boswell's Journal) and the *Life of Johnson*. It must be stated flatly that the accessible evidence does not support the charge. One important portion of the Journal (that covering March 20 to May 23, 1778), though in existence,

is not accessible,<sup>3</sup> and some other pertinent portions are not known to be extant. But in the extensive portions of the Journal that are accessible Boswell has not suppressed a single compliment paid by Dr. Johnson to Mrs. Piozzi. In this matter he has made no "selection" whatever. Does Mr. Clifford mean that he consistently excluded unqualified compliments from his original record? Why should he have done that? So far as is known, he was on good terms with Mrs. Piozzi until some time after Johnson's death. Of course, in a very real sense, every report of conversation that he gives us is a selection, for it is not to be supposed that he has reproduced every word that was uttered. What we do have a right to demand is that his record shall be fairly representative in this matter of Mrs. Piozzi, as in others. Our conviction is that it is. If the evidence which Mr. Clifford cites to show Johnson's overwhelming partiality for Mrs. Piozzi be studied, it will be found to consist of private communications from Johnson to Mrs. Piozzi and of the reports of women, to whom, as has long been realized, Johnson revealed his tenderness more than he ever did to Boswell or, for that matter, to any man. It is to be expected that Boswell's Johnson should be the Johnson who revealed himself to Boswell.<sup>4</sup>

But Mr. Clifford maintains that, besides selecting only qualified compliments, Boswell changed Johnson's statements materially in carrying them over from the Journal. He supports this by two references. The reader ought to realize that these are not selected at random: they are evidently the very best Mr. Clifford has found after a close study of a really considerable bulk of parallel passages in the Journal and the *Life*. The first is advanced to show that, by changing the punctuation in one of Johnson's remarks to Mrs. Piozzi, Boswell intentionally lessened the compliment; the other that he made a conversation which had nothing to do with Mrs. Piozzi apply to her by "pointing the episode" at her in his own comment and then gratuitously introducing into Johnson's mouth a sentence "generalizing on what had preceded" (p. 357).

There is not and never has been such agreement on the value of marks of punctuation as to remove judgments of that sort from the realm of the subjective. We therefore print the passage with the two systems of pointing and allow the reader to decide for himself, remarking only that, if Boswell's dis-

<sup>3</sup> It is among the Fettercairn Papers, now the subject of litigation in the Court of Session, Edinburgh. Mr. Clifford's reference to it (p. 166, n. 4) is unfortunate. He says: "In his printed versions [of the conversations for 1778] Boswell directs several pointed accusations at Mrs. Thrale for her alleged inaccuracy, but his contemporary notes for these have not yet been found." It is difficult to see what purpose this note serves except to suggest a doubt as to Boswell's honesty. Mr. Clifford is within his rights in having such doubts, but he ought not to give the impression that the state of the manuscript evidence for 1778 somehow supports him. The facts are simply these: there is a manuscript for 1778, but he has not been able to examine it.

<sup>4</sup> Boswell's first feeling on reading Johnson's published letters to Mrs. Piozzi was one of disappointment "in having a proof of his fawning on a woman whom he did not esteem" (*Private papers of James Boswell*, XVII, 74). This shows pretty clearly that the strain of affection for Mrs. Piozzi which Boswell found in Johnson's letters was one that he himself had not heard Johnson express toward her.



honesty is to be established by such evidence, it would take a good deal of it to amount to much.

And yet (with a pleasing pause and leering smile) She is the first woman in the World. Could she but restrain that wicked tongue of her's she would be the only Woman in the World. Could she but command that little whirligig—[*Journal*, 1 April 1781; *Private papers*, XIV, 186].

And yet (looking to her with a leering smile) she is the first woman in the world, could she but restrain that wicked tongue of hers;—she would be the only woman, could she but command that little whirligig [*Life of Johnson*, 1 April 1781; ed. Hill-Powell, IV, 82].<sup>5</sup>

The charge that Boswell introduced into Johnson's mouth a sentence which he never said so as to make him attack, or seem to attack, Mrs. Piozzi can likewise be considered only with the two passages before us.

At tea we talked of Lord Ilchester's family's conduct towards Obrien. Mrs. Thrale seemed to be for their forgetting Lady Susan's misconduct. Mr. J. distinguished well. "Were I a man of rank, I would not let my daughter starve who has made a mean marriage; but, as she has voluntarily degraded herself from the state which she was originally entitled to hold, I would support her only in the state which she herself has chosen, & would not put her on a footing with my other daughters [*Journal*, 28 March 1775; *Private papers*, X, 160].

A young lady who had married a man much her inferiour in rank being mentioned, a question arose how a woman's relations should behave to her in such a situation; and, while I recapitulate the debate, and recollect what has since happened, I cannot but be struck in a manner that delicacy forbids me to express. While I contended that she ought to be treated with an inflexible steadiness of displeasure, Mrs. Thrale was all for mildness and forgiveness, and, according to the vulgar phrase, 'making the best of a bad bargain.' JOHNSON. 'Madam, we must distinguish. Were I a man of rank, I would not let a daughter starve who had made a mean marriage; but having voluntarily degraded herself from the station which she was originally entitled to hold, I would support her only in that which she herself has chosen; and would not put her on a level with my other daughters. You are to consider, Madam, that it is our duty to maintain the subordination of civilized society; and when there is a gross and shameful deviation from rank, it should be punished so as to deter others from the same perversion' [*Life of Johnson*, 28 March 1775; ed. Hill-Powell, II, 328-29].

Since this conversation took place six years before Henry Thrale's death, Johnson's discussion of mean marriages could have had no reference to the then Mrs. Thrale, except by way of admonition. Presumably that is what Mr. Clifford means: that Boswell tinkered with the speech so as to make it sound like personal admonition—and a prophecy.

The problem we have here is the status to be assigned to expansions which Boswell made in his original records when preparing them for publication in

<sup>5</sup> That the punctuation here is Boswell's and not his printer's is proved by the revises in the Adam Collection, which show that the passage was originally set up with pointing much like that of the *Journal*. (Information kindly supplied by Mr. Robert F. Metzendorf.)

the *Life*. It is a difficult problem for the student of his method, but one to be solved by a study of his general practice, not by inference from a single example. The records, as is now well known, are of two sorts: fully written journals, almost as highly finished as the *Life* itself, and brief and cryptic jottings of words, parts of words, and phrases. Some of the most brilliant portions of the *Life* were written up from notes of the latter class, without ever having been expanded in the Journal at all. The great dinner at Dilly's on May 15, 1776, at which Boswell brought Johnson and Wilkes together, is a case in point. In the *Life* Johnson's account of his own first meeting with Foote and the anecdote of Foote's beer and Fitzherbert's black boy runs to three hundred words, where the notes have fewer than fifty. It is not merely that words and phrases have been expanded; several sentences, not in any way indicated in the notes, have been "introduced into Johnson's mouth." Now it may be argued that Boswell worked here as a dramatist would work: with hints as to the general direction of the conversation, he invented a long speech proper to the character. Minute study of Boswell's materials has brought us, however, as it brought Geoffrey Scott, to a different conclusion. It seems certain that Boswell had a mind which could bring back in detail almost everything that had ever passed through it, provided that he had a clue in the form of notes written soon after the event. When he had expanded the notes in the Journal, he did not generally expand further in writing the *Life*, but he sometimes did. Now, why should expansions of the fully written Journal be any less "authentic" than expansions of rough notes, made at the same distance of time? Our conclusion is that both sorts of expansion are on exactly the same footing and that both are just as "genuine" as the original notes. Boswell's memory, given a jog by the record, went on to recover material that he had not previously written down.<sup>6</sup>

If the sentence which Mr. Clifford considers a gratuitous addition, "introduced into Johnson's mouth" in order to give Boswell an opportunity to "point the episode" at Mrs. Piozzi, be studied, it will be seen to say nothing whatever that is inconsistent with Johnson's known views and nothing that was not already contained in his condemnation of mean marriages through

<sup>6</sup> See *Private papers*, VI, 53-56, and *Life of Johnson*, 3 June 1784 (ed. Hill-Powell, IV, 283-85), where a lucky chance has preserved both notes and fully written Journal corresponding to a portion of the *Life*. The Journal adds details not in the notes, and the *Life* adds details not in either. For example, it is not until the version in the *Life* is reached that we gain the highly circumstantial information that Mrs. and Miss Beresford were Americans and that Mrs. Beresford's husband had been a member of Congress. Several speeches of Johnson also appear in this version for the first time, particularly his denunciation of the roast mutton which was "ill-fed, ill-killed, ill-kept, and ill-drest." When upon investigation the circumstantial detail concerning the Beresfords proves to be correct, as it does, it is only fair to assume that the added (and unverifiable) speeches of Johnson are equally trustworthy. Nor is it likely that Boswell ever had any supplementary record. He met the ladies casually on a journey and seems never to have seen them again. That Richard Beresford was quite obscure is indicated by the absence of any article on him in the *Dictionary of American biography*. Boswell here is remembering at the distance of six or seven years.

the instance of Lady Susan Fox. It merely passes from a concrete embodiment of an argument to a statement of general principle. And that, as can be seen in page after page of the *Life*, was the formula of Johnson's talk: either to begin with a generalization and then to clinch it by a striking example or metaphor or, as here, to lead up from a particular case to a generalization.

If Boswell had really set himself to falsify his materials so as to depreciate Mrs. Piozzi, is it likely that he would have stopped with such mild rascality as a change of punctuation and the invention of a sentence that makes no reference to her? Consider his opportunities. His materials consisted mainly of a private record which he could easily have destroyed. He did not destroy it; on the contrary he took considerable pains to preserve it to testify against him. And this large and miscellaneous body of material, when investigated, does support over and over again his claims to scrupulous veracity and circumstantial accuracy.

Mr. Clifford raises doubts about this. There are, he says, mistakes in those parts of the work in which Boswell had to rely on secondhand evidence (pp. 357-58). And the instance which he cites against Boswell appears at first glance to be a good one. Boswell followed Sir Joshua Reynolds' account of Reynolds' first meeting with Johnson, which occurred at the home of the Misses Cotterel. One of these ladies (she had since become Mrs. Lewis), on the publication of the *Life of Johnson*, maintained in a letter to Mrs. Piozzi that the account was wrong in several particulars, and some of her corrections can be verified. It is clear that she would have been a better source than Sir Joshua or at least that Boswell could have secured greater accuracy if he had been able to revise Sir Joshua's account by hers. But has Mr. Clifford forgotten that Boswell interviewed her and that she "could [i.e., would] give him no materials"?<sup>7</sup> What more could be expected of him?

Nobody supposes that any historical work will be entirely free from errors of fact. But Mr. Clifford makes the direct charge that there is another kind of distortion: that "Boswell's dramatic instincts led him to take some liberties in painting the scene around his major figure." This is supported as follows:

Fanny Burney's niece, Marianne Francis, is responsible for the story that Lady Rothes was very angry with Boswell for printing details which he knew to be untrue about one of her dinner parties. He replied that 'in telling a Story, one is forced to embroider it a little—like putting trees in a Landscape, that's all' [p. 358].

This must be taken very seriously, because it is utterly at variance not only with Boswell's published professions but also with the claims of scrupulous fidelity to circumstantial accuracy which occur in his *Journal*. If he ever made that statement and meant it, he was a hypocrite and a liar. Surely, before accepting Miss Francis' report as trustworthy, we ought to scrutinize it very carefully. What, then, do we find? First, that the "authority," Marianne

<sup>7</sup> *Private papers*, XVI, 194 (14 June 1786).

Francis (who was born in 1790), knew neither Boswell nor Lady Rothes; in fact, she was "not quite clear *which*" of the three ladies bearing that title was in question. She records the story in a letter dated August 6, 1810 (over thirty years after the event), saying that she had it "the other day" from "Mrs. Barker," who had it from Lady Rothes. The story is thus hearsay. Secondly, we find that Miss Francis' account contains internal evidence of inaccuracy. She says: "In his *Life* he tells an Anecdote of Lady Rothes (One of the 3 I am not quite clear *which*) that she gave a dinner—& Johnson was there—and a Mango—that this Mango cost 2 shillings and was not allowed to be cut &c &c." The reference is to the entry in the *Life* for April 17, 1778, but Miss Francis had clearly not looked at it recently. Johnson was not at the dinner in question; Boswell, who was, reported the incident to him. Thirdly, we note that the letter in question was addressed to Mrs. Piozzi and is part of a correspondence in which, to use the editor's words, "the deferential flattery often grows wearisome."<sup>8</sup> It does not seem too much to say that such evidence, when it is flatly contradicted by a large body of contemporary testimony of unimpeachable character, should not be presented in a scholarly work "for what it is worth." It should be thrown out as untrustworthy.

The theory that Boswell's charges of inaccuracy were an "obvious scheme of diverting attack instead against his rivals" is ingenious but fantastic. The effect (as every scholar knows) of ungenerous correction of a rival's mistakes is to incite every reader to find *you* in the wrong. Many people were so incited by Boswell's strictures, but they did not have much success in convicting him of error. If Boswell's facts had not been so essentially right, he could never have survived the attacks he provoked. But the theory is fantastic for another reason. The attacks were already in the *Journal*. That is, he had introduced into his *Journal* several accounts of his and Johnson's having challenged various people (among them Mrs. Piozzi) for "carelessness as to exactness of circumstance."<sup>9</sup> Was all this done for the purpose "of diverting attack" from a book he had not yet begun to write? Is it not abundantly clear that Boswell's somewhat ostentatious interest in circumstantial accuracy was a genuine and lifelong passion?

Mr. Clifford would not have had all this trouble if he had paused to analyze more carefully what Boswell meant by his charge of "inaccuracy." He does not mean that Mrs. Piozzi's stories are sheer fictions. It is true that he occasionally expresses complete disbelief in a particular anecdote, but generally when he says that they are "incorrect" or "inaccurate," he means that they are *circumstantially* inaccurate. And they are. Mrs. Piozzi, like most people, thought that a story was a story. One told a story for a *point*: that was the

<sup>8</sup> John Rylands Library bulletin, XVI (1932), 12, 130.

<sup>9</sup> See *Private papers*, X, 164-65, 172 (1 April 1775), where he "attacks" Murphy; XI, 235 (10 April 1776), where he comments on the "inaccuracy" of Murphy, Mr. Thrale, and Mrs. Thrale; XIV, 187-88 (1 April 1781), where he and Johnson scold Seward for "inaccuracy of memory." This is only a sample.

important thing, and the circumstantial detail was relatively unimportant. Story-tellers of this sort unconsciously vary the circumstances of their narratives in order that the point may be made in accordance with their sense of what is artistically fitting. After they have told a story a few times, they are honestly incapable of distinguishing their unconscious fictions from fact: they will very often, like Mrs. Piozzi, feel certain that they were present at an occurrence when they were merely told about it. It is no disgrace to be placed in this category of anecdotists, for nearly every great biographer except Boswell is there. And on the proper occasion Boswell was a raconteur too. Dugald Stewart remarks on the fact that the stories that Boswell told "off the record" in convivial company "seldom failed to *improve* wonderfully in such keeping as *his* memory afforded. They were much more amusing than even his printed anecdotes." But, he goes on, "as for those anecdotes which he destined for the public, they were deprived of any chance of this sort of *improvement*, by the scrupulous fidelity with which . . . he was accustomed to record every conversation which he thought interesting, a few hours after it took place."<sup>10</sup>

The difference between Boswell and Mrs. Piozzi is not, as Mr. Clifford hints it is, merely a difference in degree. It is a difference in kind. When Boswell, as biographer, records a speech, he aims not at a point but at a general representation. The memorable remark is fixed firmly in a matrix of historical circumstance. Where did it happen? When did it happen? Who was there? What did they wear or eat or drink? What started the conversation? Details of this sort, fixed by a record made soon after the event, must be held as sacred as the "point." One might select from them, but one might not modify them an iota. There would be an exercise of the imagination, of course, in reconstructing a detailed conversation, but the imagination would always work within a firmly circumscribed area of historical fact. Of course Mrs. Piozzi was hopelessly inaccurate in Johnson's and Boswell's sense. But a more persuasive defense of her would be not "So was Boswell himself" but "So was Sir Walter Scott."

The matter of Boswell's treatment of Mrs. Piozzi is very simple and can be stated in six words: he was honest but not magnanimous.<sup>11</sup> He was jealous of

<sup>10</sup> Quoted in G. B. Hill, *Johnsonian miscellanies*, II, 425, from Stewart's *Works*, ed. 1854, IV, 230, n. 1. Stewart is discussing "the supposed incompatibility of a lively imagination and a retentive memory." He was presumably unaware of the fact that Boswell needed to record no more than a series of cues in order to prevent a conversation from "improving" unduly.

<sup>11</sup> Mr. Clifford says (pp. 355-56) that, in writing the *Life of Johnson*, Boswell began by attacking Mrs. Piozzi "with constant acrimony" but that his friends were wiser than he and persuaded him that the surer way to "demolish his feminine rival" was by "a long series of insinuations and qualifications." This is pure surmise on Mr. Clifford's part, resting on his interpretation of a single sentence in the *Journal*: "Courtenay came about ten and had his hodgepodge and bit of roast beef, and obligingly assisted me in *lightening* my animadversions on Mrs. Piozzi in my *Life of Johnson*—for my own credit" (*Private papers*, XVIII, 109). But Mr. Clifford has forgotten that at the date of this entry (22 February 1791) the greater part of the *Life* was not only long since written but actually in print. On February 10 Boswell had p. 488 of the second volume before him; on February

Johnson's affection for her, and to personal jealousy was added the even more corrosive jealousy of the author whose "field" has been invaded. Her *Anecdotes* had displayed prominently a disclaimer of sentiments attributed to her in a passage in his *Journal of a tour to the Hebrides*—a disclaimer equivocally worded, to be sure, but generally construed as giving him the lie direct. She had printed an anecdote in which Johnson was made to intimate to "Mr. B—" that he was a liar except when he was drunk.<sup>12</sup> He believed that she had tampered with Johnson's letters so as to remove all affectionate reference to himself, and his suspicion was not unfounded. Furthermore, he sincerely believed that her *Anecdotes* gave an unfavorable and unjust impression of Johnson. There is no doubt that from the day he began writing the *Life* he intended to pay her off; no doubt that, as Mr. Clifford says, he wrote with bias. His portrait of Mrs. Piozzi does not reflect either her abilities or her charm. But it was an honest portrait and, *pace* Mr. Clifford, fair in its method. The depreciation of her is where it should be, in Boswell's own comment and analysis, and it represents his considered judgment at the time of writing. The charge that, in order to attack her, he tampered with his record of Johnson's conversation is simply not sustained.

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25 he thought he had only four or five sheets—less than fifty pages—to print and estimated that the volume would run to 575 pages (*Letters of James Boswell*, ed. C. B. Tinker, II, 422, 424). It actually contains 586. The "animadversions" that Courtenay helped him with are not the remarks scattered through the whole work; they are merely the review of Mrs. Piozzi's *Anecdotes* which follows Boswell's reference to her marriage with Piozzi (IV, 340–47, in Hill-Powell). The natural explanation of the passage in the *Journal* is that Boswell himself had decided to mitigate his strictures in that portion of his work where he dealt expressly and at length with the *Anecdotes*. There is no evidence that the very valuable help he had from Malone and others concerned the general design of the *Life*. He drafted the copy in solitary labor, using his independent judgment, but he liked to have someone (preferably Malone) at hand when he revised the copy or the proofs. Courtenay is here substituting for Malone, who is in Ireland. Malone, one guesses, would hardly have favored "lightening." A good part of the "animadversions" is from his pen, and his references to Mrs. Piozzi in "Maloniana" and elsewhere are much harsher than Boswell's. (See *Life*, Hill-Powell ed., IV, 341 [n. 2] and 542, and Sir James Prior's *Life of Edmond Malone*, pp. 177, 364, 393, 398, 412.)

<sup>12</sup> See her *Anecdotes* in G. B. Hill's *Johnsonian miscellanies*, I, 320–21. Mrs. Piozzi's printing of this anecdote was especially offensive, for she had had it from Boswell in the first place, and he had once warned her, in a wholly friendly manner, that she did not have it right (*Private papers*, XI, 235). The charge of falsehood, whether direct or implied, was the one that Boswell was likely to find least tolerable. Though a timorous man, he had felt it necessary to challenge Lord Macdonald to a duel because Macdonald (in a letter!) had referred to his "fabricated Apothegms" (*Private papers*, XVI, 236 and 221–59 *passim*). It will not do, in discussing the Boswell-Piozzi controversy, to forget that long before the publication of the *Life of Johnson* Boswell had felt the "Salisbury fist" (Clifford, p. 113)—a fist capable of delivering a quite unlady-like punch.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*The Jacobean and Caroline stage*, Vols. I and II: *Dramatic companies and players*. By GERALD EADES BENTLEY. Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1941. 2 vols. Pp. ix+748.

This book has a high aim—to do for the post-Shakespearean theater in London what Sir Edmund Chambers did for the earlier theater. This aim Dr. Bentley has, as far as the subjects now dealt with are concerned, admirably achieved.

The first volume gives the history of every company which appeared on the London stage after 1616 and before 1642. For companies in existence before 1616 there is a brief summary, based on Chambers, of their previous history; for all the companies there is an account of their activities after 1616; then come lists—first, of their actors, then, of their appearances in the provinces and at court, and, finally, of the plays in their repertory, with the precise evidence in each case for the attribution. For the King's men there is a separate digest of Herbert's records concerning them.

This whole volume is done with definiteness, accuracy, and unusual completeness; each item of evidence, to the great convenience of the student, is repeated as often as necessary instead of merely indicated by cross-reference. Careful judgment and good sense appear on notable points in controversy; instances picked almost at random are the discussion of *The game of chess* (pp. 10-14); of the date of the reopening of the rebuilt Fortune (p. 144); of the King's Revels company (pp. 283-96). Only when one has tried for himself to impose some order on the conflicting and confused mass of evidence concerning the histories of the companies and their repertories can one properly appreciate how well Dr. Bentley has accomplished his task. His arrangement is clearer than Murray's and his treatment considerably fuller. Notable among his own contributions are his argument for the Prince Charles's (I) men at the Red Bull, 1617-19, and his proof of the existence of a company not previously recognized—the King and Queen of Bohemia's company—playing from December, 1625, or the first months of 1626, to about 1631, probably at the Fortune.

From this first volume three conclusions stand out: the unquestioned supremacy of the King's men at the Globe and Blackfriars; the great importance of the actors' lists in determining the beginnings and endings of the various companies and, in many cases, their repertories; and the unusual significance in theatrical history of the year 1625 because of the effect upon the fortunes of the companies of its severe plague and the death of James.



The second volume is mainly devoted to an impressively complete, alphabetically arranged dictionary of all the known actors in the theaters, from 1616 to 1642, and even of some of the unknown: for instance, there is an entry each for such shadowy figures as George Gibbes, a ghost name arising from misreading "George Giles" in a license; Stage Taylor, another ghost name; John Bacon, a mere stage attendant; and Thomas Brown, who, for fraudulent purposes, only pretended to be an actor. There could scarcely be greater completeness than these names indicate. For each entry there is, first, a brief comment, and then precise citation of the evidence on which the comment is based. For the exacting labor which has gone into this section students will be especially grateful.

The second volume also includes an appendix, reprinting or summarizing eighteen wills of theatrical interest; a section on the theaters and the plague, with comprehensive plague tables (Dr. Bentley shows that previous historians are mistaken in supposing that the theaters were closed because of the plague in 1635); a summary of Sir Humphrey Mildmay's theatergoing (1631/32-1643); and various other informative theatrical documents, some never before printed.

A useful index concludes the volume. In format and printing the two volumes are fully worthy of the high traditions of the Clarendon Press. No one would guess that the difficult proof sheets had been produced in a country tormented by war and sent for correction across a hostile ocean.

Dr. Bentley, in his preface, promises later volumes on "the plays and playwrights and on the nature and conditions of play production." These volumes will be eagerly awaited; those which have already been done rank both in plan and execution with the best histories of the English drama. They leave nothing to be desired except more of the same.

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*The art of biography in eighteenth century England.* 2 vols. By DONALD A. STAUFFER. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941.

Mr. Stauffer has continued his earlier book on *English biography before 1700* (Harvard University Press, 1930) with a comprehensive survey of biography in the eighteenth century. The first large volume is the fullest and most detailed treatment of biography in the eighteenth century that we possess. It certainly goes far beyond Mr. Longaker's *English biography in the eighteenth century* (Philadelphia, 1931) in the number of items described. The descriptions are always lucid, illustrated by well-chosen quotations, and accompanied by comments showing both sympathy and zest for the vast subject. The second volume presents a *bibliographie raisonnée* of biography either with short and frequently pungent descriptions or with references to the fuller treatment in the first volume. On the level of exposition, the whole work is

admirably done and is not likely to be replaced soon by an account based, like Mr. Stauffer's, on an almost complete firsthand acquaintance with all available materials.

But two major criticisms should be made of a book which has consumed such immense labor and presents so much material with good taste and obvious exactitude. There are a good many errors and misstatements, especially on questions of authorship. Some are of little consequence and concern largely the Bibliography. Several authors of books, listed as anonymous, can be identified. For example, the lives of Gavin Douglas (II, 77) and of William Drummond of Hawthornden (II, 79) are by Bishop Sage. The life of Michael Drayton (II, 78) is probably by Charles Coffey. The *Life of Goldsmith* (1774) mentioned (II, 104-5) is a rehash of Glover's. The *Life of Petrarch* (1772) is by one John Nott (II, 196), while the life of Chaucer, referred to by Mr. Stauffer as Urry's (I, 244), is actually by John Dart. Mr. Stauffer assumes, without any proof, that William Oldys was the editor of the *Biographia Britannica* (II, 19; I, 250) and that he wrote its "noble" Preface. Actually Oldys contributed only 22 lives, while Broughton wrote 125, Nichols 199, Campbell 205, and Philip Moraunt 254. Campbell was probably the editor-in-chief and not Oldys. Mr. Stauffer also never doubts the authenticity and historical character of Charles Johnson's *General history of the pirates* (1724) or of Robert Drury's *Adventures* (1729), both of which have been attributed, on fairly plausible grounds, to Defoe and should in any case be ranked as romances (cf. John Robert Moore, *Defoe in the pillory and other studies* [Bloomington, 1939]). In discussing Mrs. Thrale's *Anecdotes*, Mr. Stauffer shows no knowledge of the existence of the six-volume *Thraliana* (at least partly known since 1913), and in speaking of Fanny Burney's *Diary* he assumes that it is a literal transcript of contemporary events, whereas actually it had been heavily doctored and censored by Madame D'Arblay in her old age. There are many doubtful statements: e.g., the statement that Colley Cibber "does not answer Pope's attacks" (I, 37) is refuted by Cibber's two letters (*A Letter from Mr. Cibber to Mr. Pope* [1742]; *A second letter . . .* [1743]), which certainly show that he did not take the *Dunciad* lying down. One can scarcely say that Fanny Burney "unconsciously picks up some of Dr. Johnson's famous phrases" (I, 128) when she simply describes Dr. Johnson calling Sir John Hawkins "a most unclubable man" and herself adds: "How delighted I was to hear this master of language so unaffectedly and socially and good-naturedly make words" (*Diary*, ed. Austin Dobson, I, 59). There is surely something wrong with the chronology of the statement on "numerous adaptations of Bayle's methods in Jeremy Taylor" (I, 457-58). A passage about the rites of the Egyptians is quoted first from Mallet's *Life of Bacon* (I, 496) and then from a close imitation by the Duchess of Kingston (I, 549) without notice of the repetition, and also elsewhere long quotations are quite needlessly repeated (cf. pp. 123 and 181, 310 and 551). All this, however—even though

more could be added—does not affect the bulk of the book and could easily be corrected or supplemented.

But the second point seems to me much more fundamental: Mr. Stauffer's uncertainty of method and confusion of criteria. The book is not a history of biography in the eighteenth century, as there is no attempt to trace the evolution of the genre, except in the last chapter, "The trend of biography," which, however, scarcely answers its title, as most of it is devoted to a rehearsal of contemporary views and theories of biography-writing, to some classifications, to a discussion of foreign influences, etc. Only a few paragraphs recite varieties of structure and technique in a very haphazard way (I, 503 ff.), which seems little in a book professing to deal with the art of biography. Mr. Stauffer elsewhere suggests that there was an increasing democratization of biography in the century and that biography "became more subjective" (I, 475). But no attempt is made to go beyond such meager generalizations or to construct a scheme of progress or decay or of cross-currents, to which Mr. Stauffer alludes earlier (I, 13). Throughout the book questions of chronological antecedents and historical interrelationships are ignored or treated only incidentally, sometimes to the detriment of right perspective. Thus Birch's *General dictionary* is treated after the *Biographia Britannica* and slighted in comparison with it (I, 250-52), though the *Biographia* is very largely dependent on Birch. The few attempts at causal explanations seem either vague or very elementary. Thus "interest in literary men and literary methods" is said to have been "one great cause for the increase in subjective biography" (I, 257). But it is not clear what are the reasons for the increased interest in literary men, except the increased subjectivism and individualism. Under the heading, "Knowledge infinite," biographical subjects such as adventurers and criminals are grouped together with antiquaries who wrote biography upon no more common ground than the purely psychological explanation that the impulses behind the writings of all these lives are the same, namely, curiosity (I, 255). Again in the chapter "Biography and the drama" much is made of the alleged influence of Shakespeare on biography. Writers like Anthony Pasquin or Letitia Pilkington are pronounced "the disciples of William Shakespeare in their understanding of life" (I, 16). We are told that "a great part of the suppleness, tolerance, and skepticism in judgment that characterize eighteenth century biography stems eventually from him" (I, 27) and that the "union of biography and the drama," through Shakespeare, "made man's judgment of his fellow man sweeter, more smiling and more mature" (I, 31). No proof is offered for these generalizations except numbers of quotations from Shakespeare in biographies, especially of actors and actresses. Surely an imitation of Handel's German pronunciation of English needs not the model of Fluellen (I, 19-20). A comparison with France, where one cannot, at that time, speak of Shakespeare's influence on biography, would have

shown the fallacy of this supposed explanation. In short, historical questions or problems of the internal evolution of the genre are hardly treated with success.

Nor does Mr. Stauffer succeed in a purely static analysis of the types of biography, an alternative which, from the whole organization of the book, is much more in his mind. He draws his net as widely as possible and includes under biography everything in any way concerned with a real person. Thus he considers the distinction between biography and autobiography as "largely artificial" (I, 3) and admits memoirs, diaries, fictionalized travel-books, collections of anecdotes, and any other form which is in any way related. The term "biography" is used by him so all inclusively that it constantly shades off into history, travels, the novel, antiquarianism, etc., and the phrase "biography in England" is interpreted so broadly that many French and German books are discussed and quoted, in the most haphazard fashion, apparently largely on the ground that they happened to be translated into English. There is, however, no determined and systematic attempt to sketch the Continental background, and important books like the autobiographies of Rousseau or Mme de Guyon are only mentioned perfunctorily. On the other hand, the full treatment of books like the Abbé de Sade's *Life of Petrarch* or Baron Trenck's adventures introduces isolated instances of very different foreign developments. A quotation from Lavater, which is a lyrical description in the style of the young Goethe (I, 179), stands out as incomprehensible in the English context.

But even the wideness and looseness of the term biography could have been an advantage if Mr. Stauffer had proceeded to analyze the diverse sub-genres and to organize his materials according to some criteria derived from such an analysis. To point out only some of the most obvious types, there are undeniable and important distinctions between reminiscent autobiography, represented by Rousseau, reporting of a contemporary, exemplified by Boswell, or antiquarian reconstruction of a long-past life, as in Malone's *Life of Dryden*. In autobiography the increase of self-consciousness and introspection would be a main criterion; in reporting, the success in dealing with the characteristic traits of conversation; in a scholarly reconstruction, the exactitude, completeness, and organization of the materials. Mr. Stauffer, of course, recognizes such facts and remarks on them occasionally, but in organizing his book he never keeps them steadily in view. The first chapter—to take an example—discusses three autobiographies, one biography, and a book of fictionalized memoirs without much sense of distinction. The chapter is held together merely by the fact that these biographies concern actors and actresses, and then it is, like all the other chapters, split up into two parts: a general discussion and a detailed discussion of a few books, which is merely a descriptive synopsis with quotations. In the same way a chapter, "The great names," isolates Roger North, Edward Gibbon, William Mason, Oliver Goldsmith, Samuel Johnson, and James Boswell—an odd list which cuts

through the lines of evolution and presents a haphazard mixture of types. The connecting link is merely the greatness of the names in current literary histories. The discussion itself veers aimlessly from one topic to another: Roger North elicits largely comments on his diction, while the pages devoted to Dr. Johnson survey his views of biography and comment on his earlier biographies, but practically ignore the obvious task of discriminating between the *Lives of the poets* and discussing their methods and forms. In the chapter "Biography and the Romantic spirit," we are first presented with an account of mercantile biographies, lives of scientists, reformers, and philanthropists and then with a discussion of sentimentalism. Three books are singled out: two translations (De Sade's *Petrarch* and Baron Trenck's *Life*) and one, Godwin's *Memoirs of Mary Wollstonecraft*, which seems scarcely typical of *sensibilité*. A strained attempt is made to link these diverse topics by reinterpreting the much belabored term "Romanticism." It is supposed to tend toward democracy and to insist upon the importance of all parts of man's consciousness and hence also of *sensibilité*. But the question of sensibility could have been much more profitably discussed in the chapter called the "Life within," which treats of religious biographies and the increased interest in psychology. Granted all the difficulties of organizing such enormous masses of materials, Mr. Stauffer seems singularly unfortunate in choosing the most mixed schemes of classification, a practice which obscures both the evolution of the genre and a static analysis of its forms and types.

We must be grateful to Mr. Stauffer for the many interesting accounts he has given us of little-known books and for the enthusiasm with which he has selected details of human and historical interest. Also the *bibliographie raisonnée* is extremely useful. But one cannot help thinking that Mr. Stauffer's book—in spite of its wide reading and shrewd observations—illustrates a common failing of our literary scholarship: a lack of clarity concerning fundamental questions of method and theory. Mr. Stauffer has failed to impose significant organization upon the collections of his erudite labor.

RENÉ WELLEK

University of Iowa

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*Jean-Baptiste Rousseau: his life and works.* By HENRY A. GRUBBS. ("Princeton publications in Romance languages.") Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1941. Pp. viii + 310.

In this book Professor Grubbs unites the apparently disparate elements of the life and works of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau, in whom he sees "the principal representative of an epoch in French poetry and of a phase in its evolution." The first part of the book is devoted to the life of Rousseau: his beginnings as a poet, the "Affaire des couplets," with his ensuing banishment and wanderings through Europe; the second part consists of a critical appreciation of Rousseau's literary productions. There is also a short bibliography which

should arrest the attention of those interested in continuing a study of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau.

Professor Grubbs's treatment of the famous "Affaire des couplets" is almost the only one presenting documentary evidence to support Rousseau's side of the controversy. The previous biographers—from Gacon through Voltaire to Amar and Antoine de Latour—have been handicapped either by prejudice or "by the lack of a detailed account of the said Affair by the poet or from his point of view." Professor Grubbs, however, discovered at Chartres a manuscript which Rousseau compiled for his own defense. This important discovery has furnished material for a complete and well-rounded discussion of Rousseau's probable role in the "Affair of the couplets."

Besides presenting this new biographical material (as well as summing up previously published data), Professor Grubbs shows what part the composition and publication of literary works played in the poet's life: he fits the *pièces de circonstance* into their proper setting and discusses the authenticity of some of the epigrams attributed to Rousseau.

The critical section continues and in some respects corrects Professor Grubbs's own article, "The vogue of Jean-Baptiste Rousseau" (*PMLA*, LV [1940], 139-66), in which he points out that Rousseau was once considered France's greatest—almost her only—lyric poet. Professor Grubbs also selects such elements of Rousseau's poetry as he considers to be of permanent interest and indicates several subjects which may become fields for further study. Aesthetically one may disagree with Professor Grubbs's assertion that some of the moods created by Rousseau's poetry "are still a source of poetic enjoyment," but one is forced to admit that historically Rousseau remains "a poet of considerable importance."

The Bibliography, while short, is indicative of the wide acclaim and condemnation which the poet and his works have merited. Many contemporary, as well as a few posthumous, editions of Rousseau's works are listed. In the opinion of the reviewer, the 1869 Garnier edition, referred to in the Introduction, should have been included in the Bibliography. It might also have been well to list those articles from contemporary periodicals which are so frequently mentioned in the text and notes. Likewise, Professor Grubbs might well have indicated that the copy of the 1820 Lefèvre edition, which he cites, is a variant containing the supplement of "Pièces attribuées à Rousseau."<sup>1</sup>

Although Professor Grubbs states that he has not tried to write an exhaustive critical work, he has, nevertheless, made a fair and adequate study of the once famous Jean-Baptiste Rousseau. He has also succeeded in giving to the varied adventures of the poet the allure of an entertaining and harmonious narrative.

ARTHUR J. WHALLON, JR.

Indiana University

<sup>1</sup> This supplement is to be found at the end of the second of the five volumes. It consists of the epigrams which figured in the "Affair of the couplets" as well as of certain other scurrilous verses. Copies containing this supplement are very rare.

*The good Lord Lyttelton: a study in eighteenth century politics and culture.* By ROSE MARY DAVIS. Bethlehem, Pa.: Times Publishing Co., 1959. Pp. xi+443.

The "good" Lord Lyttelton—father of Thomas, the "wicked" lord—was an important figure in a distinguished family. Through his mother, a daughter of Sir Richard Temple, he was a nephew of Viscount Cobham—the "brave Cobham" of Pope's epistle—and a cousin of Gilbert West and the Grenvilles. Lyttelton himself made a name in both politics and letters: as secretary to "poor Fred," Prince of Wales, he was intimately associated with Bolingbroke and Chesterfield, and as patron and author he was on good terms with Thomson, Pope, and Fielding.

Miss Davis' detailed and careful biography of Lyttelton pays almost equal attention to his political and literary activities. The author has had the great advantage of consulting the Hagley manuscripts which were utilized so poorly by Sir Robert Phillimore in 1845. Her account of Lyttelton's association with Prince Frederick is one of the best modern studies of the literary opposition to Walpole; she relates clearly the complicated story of the "boy patriots" and she succeeds in writing about Sir Robert without panegyric or vilification. Equally good is the chapter entitled "The British Tempe," which describes the famous estate at Hagley Park against the background of eighteenth-century ideas on gardening.

Lyttelton's writings are discussed in connection with his life, but each of the major works is treated at length and in terms of contemporary ideas and interests—the *Letters from a Persian* (1735) in connection with Montesquieu, the *Observations on . . . St. Paul* (1747) in relation to the eighteenth-century controversy over miracles, the *Dialogues of the dead* (1760) with reference to Latin and French prototypes, and the *History of Henry II* (1767) as an expression of contemporary political philosophy. Miss Davis offers some evidence against ascribing the *Letter to the Tories* (1747) to her author, and she is able to show that the *Modest apology* (1748) cannot be autobiographical. But her main concern is the biography of Lord Lyttelton, and this she successfully achieves in a book of solid documentation and clear exposition.<sup>1</sup>

DONALD F. BOND

University of Chicago

*Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree).* By EDD WINFIELD PARKS. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941. Pp. x+258.

Miss Murfree, a gentlewoman of middle Tennessee, was the literary sensation of 1885, when she revealed to Aldrich of the *Atlantic monthly* that she

<sup>1</sup> For an earlier translation (1750) of the *Observations on . . . St. Paul* see Hébrail and La Porte, *La France littéraire* (Paris, 1769), II, 182. There was another translation of the *Letters from a Persian* (by Peyron in 1770); it was reviewed in the *Année littéraire*, VII (1770), 267-80, and in the *Journal des sçavants*, April, 1772, pp. 397-402.



was "Charles Egbert Craddock," his popular contributor of local-color stories collected the previous year in the best-selling volume, *In the Tennessee mountains*. In 1885 appeared her vivid religious novel, *The prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains*, and for thirty-six years thereafter a stream of assorted repetitious fiction, juveniles, and hackworks flowed from her pen. This study of her, originally a doctoral thesis at Vanderbilt, follows the familiar pattern suggested by C. C. Jones's *The life, literary labors, and neglected grave of Richard Henry Wilde*. Few would hesitate to call it "definitive," and yet the older life-and-works formula, despite its virtue of inclusiveness, is not a happy one.

Mr. Parks's defense of treating minor authors (Preface, p. viii) and of being at once critic and biographer (p. vii) may be accepted. Yet it does not follow that a minor figure should receive the all-inclusive record of a major one. For Miss Murfree there were two less extensive jobs to be done. The first, an intimate portrait of her as a representative of the considerable number of more-or-less impoverished southern gentlewomen who took up the pen after the Civil War, could not be done adequately, because the necessary personal data were not available. But a view of this popular author of the mid-seventies and eighties standing above her unsuccessful female competitors would have given regional history a valuable chapter. The second interpretation, also modest, yet pointed, would have set Miss Murfree's works against the background of all the fiction about southern mountaineers down to that of James Still. This the author starts to do (pp. 71-74), but later, when he claims there are no "novels of the Tennessee mountains that are comparable to Craddock's" (p. 202), he is guilty of puffing by a stated limitation which rules out southern rivals like Grace Lumpkin, Olive Tilford Dargan, and Jesse Stuart.

Through the first eight chapters Mr. Parks proceeds chronologically, giving Murfree genealogy and endless details of the novelist's girlhood and her literary success. But at the ninth, "The novels as literature," he pulls up and gets on with critical business. Only his own words can give any notion of the solemnity with which he can approach a minor author. Earlier he had revealed that "any study of an individual author must take into consideration the age in which he lived. No man quite escapes from the ideas and ideals of his time" (p. 85); now he says: "The hard-winnowing judgment of time, if one allows for immediate over-enthusiasm followed by certain under-appraisal, invariably sifts the wheat from the chaff. Some centuries and schools will be over-praised, according to the fashion of the hour, and others will be scorned, but the great work of each generation will remain steadfast" (pp. 172-73). Then he tells us that Miss Murfree's "positive accomplishments in the field of the Novel" (p. 173) have not been given due credit. Four pages later he repeats the standard verdict that, of the novels, only *The prophet of the Great Smoky Mountains* has today much power in it; nevertheless, he

offers thirty-five pages of plot synopses and generalizations such as those quoted.

It seems that Mr. Parks never decided what sort of book he wished to write. He includes unessential letters, dates, and facts like an official biographer; then he becomes a "new biographer," re-creating: "It was time to grow old. The mind was yet alert and restless, but the flesh was weak . . . and her eyesight was failing" (p. 231). In the latter mode, although he has belabored the sordid frankness of twentieth-century writers to Miss Murfree's advantage, he gives a case history of the lady's cataracts, the operation without "effective anesthetic," the infection of one eye, her suit against the surgeon (date filed, damages claimed, etc.), her death before the case came up for trial. This uncertainty of purpose may be observed in the odd wavering between intimate and formal versions of his author's name and pseudonym: for example, "Miss Murfree" and "Mary" in the same paragraph (p. 200); "Craddock" and "Miss Murfree" in consecutive sentences (p. 211); "This was true of Craddock: her first volume . . ." (p. 177); "Miss Mary . . . might be frail . . ." (p. 217).

The statement that before the nineties American "critics had not thought of" the term "local color" (p. 90) needs correction. Between 1832 and 1869 dozens of reviewers spoke of accurate sectional portrayal in American fiction, and the term "local color" was certainly used as early as 1862.<sup>1</sup>

As a compendium of information this volume is notable; in execution and format it falls below the standard of the press at Chapel Hill.

SHIELDS McILWAIN

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<sup>1</sup> Walter Blair, *Native American humor, 1800-1900* (New York, 1937), p. 130, n. 2.

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VOL. XXXIX

CONTENTS FOR MAY 1942

No. 4

|  |                         |     |
|--|-------------------------|-----|
| Sealiger versus Aristotle on Poetics . . . . .   | Bernard Weinberg        | 337 |
| Hume as Literary Patron: A Suppressed Review of Robert Henry's <i>History of Great Britain, 1773</i> . . . . .   | Ernest Campbell Mossner | 361 |
| Victorian Bibliography for 1941 . . . . .  | William D. Templeman    | 383 |
| Review Article . . . . .   |                         | 421 |
| Boaswell and Mrs. Piossi (Frederick A. Pottle and Charles H. Bennett)  |                         |     |
| Book Reviews . . . . .   |                         | 431 |
| GERALD EADES BENTLEY: <i>The Jacobean and Caroline stage</i> , Vols. I and II: <i>Dramatic companies and players</i> (George F. Reynolds).—DONALD A. STAUFFER: <i>The art of biography in eighteenth century England</i> (René Wellek).—HENRY A. GRUBBS: <i>Jean-Baptiste Rousseau: his life and works</i> (Arthur J. Whallon, Jr.).—ROSE MARY DAVIS: <i>The good Lord Lyttelton: a study in eighteenth century politics and culture</i> (Donald F. Bond).—EDD WINFIELD PARKS: <i>Charles Egbert Craddock (Mary Noailles Murfree)</i> (Shields McIlwaine). |                         |     |
| Books Received . . . . .   |                         | 441 |

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